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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PRO-SLAVERY MALIGNITY IN ENGLAND.

[We copy the following disgraceful article from the London *Times* of Jan. 19.]

THERE is a game of forfeits, which most of us at some period of our lives have played at, in which one of the party makes a queer grimace or a ridiculous gesture, and every one else is to imitate it under pain of being fined. While it lasts, the whole party is always necessarily in some ridiculous or unnatural posture, and, although it begins with shouts of laughter, yet, if it be long protracted, it ends by becoming rather tiresome. This game has been kept up with great spirit by our excellent friends across the Atlantic. The vivacious and waggish President and his more sombre and sad belongings, his Cabinet, his Congress, and his riotous and exuberant press, have all passed with clumsy confusion, changing as their leader changed, from attitude to attitude, from grimace to grimace, never being at any moment natural or true, but always being consistent in a certain uniformity of contortion. Most of these attitudes required the "indispensable negro" as an accessory, and at this moment Mr. Lincoln and all his company are walking across the world's stage arm in arm with a rather reluctant negro; each "Conscript Yankee," however, having his tongue thrust in his cheek, one of his thumbs pointed eastwards over his shoulder, and a finger of his other hand upon his lips. All the actors are earnest to tell each other that this is nothing but "Buncombe." Cassius Clay himself would sink in his own estimation if he thought his neighbors could imagine that he was a real emancipator for emancipation's sake, or that he had any other object in view except to devastate the South by strong acts, and to cajole the fools of Europe by fine words. Mr. Cassius Clay or any of his shrewd companions in these gesticulating orgies, would be enraged if any one of his own friends thought he could be seriously so silly as to be sincere. To be a philanthropist at all would probably not be, in his opinion, very creditable to the shrewdness of the compatriot of a matter-of-fact people, whose facts are for the most part fictions; but to profess a philanthropy which can never operate except as an agency of bloodshed, to be a liberator of other people's slaves and a conservator of his own, to be a proscriber of the black race in the North and West, a slave-master in the Middle States, and an emancipator in the South, is a contradiction which the smartest Yankee could not allow himself to be thought really capable of suggesting as worthy of serious belief in his own people. With his tongue in his cheek, then, and his thumb pointing over his shoulder Europewards, Mr. Lincoln bids his friends to understand that all he is doing is only intended to befool the governments and the people and the press of simple-minded Europe.

Happily, for the safety of the quiet mediocre members of the world's society, very remarkably clever people have always too high an opinion of their own cleverness, and rate the folly and credulity of the mass at too high a point. A man who thinks everybody else in the world a fool is very likely to end by finding himself thoroughly well-appreciated. This is the present case of the pseudo-emancipators of the North. Archbishop Whately, in his moderate and sensible letter to Mrs. Beecher Stowe, has stated with great accuracy the impressions made upon the people of England by these coarse and obvious attempts to entrap their sympathies. No one in England believes that the Western Americans, who will not suffer a black man in their States, are actuated by any benevolent feelings towards his race. No one in England thinks that the citizens of the Atlantic cities, who are warring in order to recover the profits of slave labor, are honestly desirous to extinguish slavery. No one in England imagines that the President, who has over and over again declared that his object is to restore the Union, with slavery if he can, without slavery if he must, desires emancipation for itself. No one in England is dupe enough to credit that Mr. Seward, who has told his friends that if it would help to restore the Union he would force Massachusetts to become a slave State, has any horror of slavery. No one doubts in England, any more than any one doubts in New York, that if the South would to-morrow send a flag of truce to Washington, and offer to come back upon terms of the reëstablishment of slavery in all its plenitude, and under the condition that the agitation of anti-slavery doctrines should be a penal offence all over the Union, the proposition would be received with universal rejoicings. The great mind of England is deeply impressed with the conviction of the truth of all this; and therefore it is that, hating slavery, but being all unmoved by the stage tricks of Mr. Lincoln and his friends in this matter, we look upon the American contest as a purely political quarrel, and tacitly hold our opinion that, as the cause of Italy against Austria is the cause of freedom, so also the cause of the South gallantly defending itself against the cruel and desolating invasion of the North is the cause of freedom. Fanatics in politics or in morals may have their reasons for sympathizing with a despot, and turning a deaf ear to the cries of blood which go up against him. Robespierre thought the great social change which the Days of Terror effected cheaply bought by the blood which flowed; and there are men yet alive who openly argue that Robespierre was right. There are some persons in our land who believe that a vast overbearing democracy, which might grow up into a power which shall threaten and at last destroy all governments, except those of its own type, would be so great a benefit to humanity that the atrocities of Butler and McNeill and the miseries of the millions who are crushed in this encounter are but dust upon the balance, when compared with the value of the cause which destroys them. Of this class of political visionaries Mr. Bright was at one time the dauntless exponent, and is now the less confident apologist. Mr. Bright has now withdrawn from public view what, when he communes with himself, he must know to be the only real spring of his intense sympathy with the North, and the only real cause also of that still more strange abstinence even from remonstrance at the inhuman deeds his friends are doing and are trying to do. But Mr. Bright is not such a simpleton as to believe in the benevolent intentions of Mr. Lincoln when he sets free a slave and puts arms in his hands, and then recommends him to be a docile, peaceful, and industrious servant; nor is Mr. Bright so wicked as to feign a belief that such an invitation to massacre is an act of mercy.

This exhibition has been wisely left to meaner instruments. A few struggling obscurities, usurping a great name, have, either in real credulity or from a craving for notoriety, undertaken to recognize Mr. Lincoln as a benevolent man who has adopted as his mission the emancipation of the blacks. These persons, calling themselves "the Executive Committee of the Emancipation Society," went on Friday last to Mr. Adams, the American Minister, and presented him with a fulsome address, wherein they express equal gratitude to Mr. Lincoln, both for liberating those slaves who are in the States beyond his control, and for keeping those in slavery who are in the States within his control; and they "invoke for these acts of freedom, justice and mercy the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." Mr. Adams had probably come fresh from reading the new volume of Congressional papers, wherein is printed a serious diplomatic correspondence upon the propriety of selling black men taken as plunder to the Brazils, and thus providing for some of the expenses of the war. He must have laughed heartily within himself to see the few woodcocks who had been caught in his springs brought before him. He listened with proper patience to the twaddling talk of the gentlemen who had come to lay their silliness at his feet, and he responded in a speech composed of the safest generalities. But what Mr. Adams said, or what anyone else said, is nothing to our present purpose. We only desire to point out to foreigners a fact which is perfectly understood here by every one who reads the report. The character of this exhibition is the strongest possible negative proof of the opinion of the English public in this business. If this nation had really believed that Mr Lincoln was laboring for "freedom, justice and mercy," and not for conquest, oppression and massacre, all the chivalry of the old slave trade agitation would have led this movement. In person, or in their descendants, the Broughams, the Wilberforces, the Romillys, the Clarksons, the Buxtons, and the bearers of a hundred other names committed to that great cause, would have been in Mr. Adams's drawing room. The absence of these names shows what a sheer imposture the thing was. With busy Yankee agents in London, well provided with the means for "organization," nothing better could be managed than the collection of half a dozen nobodies, no one of whom is sufficiently known, or sufficiently or favorably known, to the English public to influence the opinion of any sane Englishman on any matter of political moment. Mr. Bright has been honest enough to confess that he speaks for himself alone, and has no party at his back. These gentlemen have not been so honest, and therefore it behooves us to do this office for them.

Selections.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

In the U. S. Senate, Feb. 12.

MR. PRESIDENT: If I speak tardily in this debate, I hope for the indulgence of the Senate. Had I been able to speak earlier, I should have spoken; but, though present in the chamber, and voting when this subject was under consideration formerly, I was at the time too much of an invalid to take an active part in the proceedings. In justice to myself and to the great question under consideration, I cannot be silent.

I have already voted to give $20,000,000 to Missouri, in order to secure freedom at once to her slaves, and to make her at once a free State. I am ready to vote more, if more be needed, for this purpose; but I will not vote money to be sunk and lost in an uncertain scheme of prospective emancipation, where freedom is a jack-o'-lantern, and the only certainty is to be found in the congressional appropriation. For money paid down, freedom, too, must be paid down at once.

Notwithstanding all differences of opinion on this important question, there is much occasion for congratulation in the progress that has been made.

There is one point on which the Senate is substantially united. A large majority will vote for emancipation. This is much, both as a sign of the present, and a prophecy of the future. A large majority, in the name of Congress, will offer pecuniary aid to this object. This is a further sign and prophecy. Such a vote and such an appropriation will constitute an epoch. Only a few short years ago, the very mention of slavery in Congress was forbidden, and all discussion of it was stifled. Now, emancipation is an accepted watchword, while slavery is openly denounced as a guilty thing worthy of death.

It is admitted that now, under the exigency of war, the United States ought to coöperate with any State in the abolition of slavery, giving to it pecuniary aid; and it is proposed to apply this principle practically in Missouri. It was fit that emancipation, destined to end the rebellion, should first begin in South Carolina, where the rebellion first began. It is also fit that the action of Congress in behalf of emancipation should first begin in Missouri, which, through the faint-hearted remissness of Congress, as late as 1820, was opened to slavery. Had Congress at that time firmly insisted that Missouri, on entering the Union, should be a free State, the vast appropriation now proposed would have been saved; and, better still, this vaster civil war would have been prevented. The whole country is now paying with treasure and blood for that fatal surrender. Alas! that men should forget that God is bound by no compromise, and that, sooner or later, He will insist that justice shall be done. There is not a dollar spent, and not a life sacrificed in this calamitous war, which does not plead against any repetition of that wicked folly. Blasted be the tongue which speaks of compromise with slavery!

But, though happily compromise is no longer openly proposed, yet it insinuates itself in this debate. In former times it took the form of bare-faced concession to slavery, as in the admission of Missouri as a slave State; the annexation of Texas as a slave State; the waiver of the prohibition of slavery in the territories; the atrocious bill for the reënslavement of fugitives; and the opening of Kansas to slavery, first by the Kansas bill, and then by the Lecompton Constitution. In each of these cases there was a concession to slavery which history now records with shame; but it was by this that your wicked slave-holding conspiracy waxed confident and strong, till at last it was ripe for war.

And now it is proposed, as an agency in the suppression of the rebellion, to put an end to slavery. By proclamation of the President, all the slaves in certain States, and designated parts of States, are declared to be free. Of course this proclamation is a war measure, rendered just and necessary by the exigencies of war. As such it is summary and instant in its operation; not prospective or procrastinating. A proclamation of prospective emancipation would have been an absurdity; like a proclamation of prospective battle, where not a blow was to be struck or a cannon pointed before 1876, unless, meanwhile, the enemy desired it. What is done in war must be done promptly, except, perhaps, under the policy of defence. Gradualism is delay, and delay is the betrayal of victory. If you would be triumphant, strike quickly. Let your blows be felt at once, without notice or premonition; and especially without time for resistance or debate. Time always deserts those who do not appreciate its value. Strike promptly, and time becomes your invaluable ally. Strike slowly, gradually, prospectively, and time goes over to the enemy.

But every argument for the instant operation of the proclamation, every consideration in favor of dispatch in war, is especially applicable to all that is done by Congress as a war measure. In a period of peace, Congress might fitly consider whether emancipation should be immediate or prospective, and we might listen with patience to the instances adduced by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Doolittle] in favor of delay; to the case of Pennsylvania, and to the case of New York, where slaves were tardily admitted to their birthright. Such arguments, though to my judgment of little value at any time, would then be legitimate. But now, when we are considering how to put down the rebellion, they are not even legitimate. There is but one way to put down the rebellion, and that is by *instant action;* and all that is done, whether in the field, in the Cabinet, or in Congress, must partake of this character. Whatever is postponed for twenty years or ten years may seem to be abstractly politic or wise; but it is in no sense a war measure, nor can it contribute essentially to the suppression of the rebellion.

Now, I think that I may assume, without contradiction, that the proposed tender of money to Missouri for the sake of emancipation is a war measure, to be vindicated as such under the Constitution of the United States. It is also an act of justice to an oppressed race; but it is not in this unquestionable character that it is now commended to Congress. If it were urged on no other ground, even if every consideration of philanthropy and of religion pleaded for it with rarest eloquence, I fear that it would stand but little chance in either House of Congress. Let us not disguise the truth. Except as a war measure, in order to aid in putting down the rebellion, this proposition would find little hospitality here. Senators are ready to vote money—as the British Parliament voted subsidies—in order to supply the place of soldiers, or to remove a stronghold of the rebellion; all of which is done by emancipation. I do not overstate the case. Slavery is a stronghold of the rebellion, which, through emancipation, will be removed, while every slave and every slave-master will become an ally of the government. Therefore, emancipation is a war measure, as constitutional as the raising of armies or the occupation of a hostile territory.

But in vindicating emancipation as a war measure, we must see that it is made under such conditions as to exercise a present, *instant* influence against the rebellion. It must be immediate, not prospective. In proposing prospective emancipation, you propose a measure which can have little or no influence on the war. Senators abstractly may prefer that emancipation should be prospective rather than immediate; but this is not the time for the exercise of any such abstract preference. Whatever is done as a war measure must be immediate, or it will cease to have this character. If made prospective, it will not be a war measure, whatever you may call it.

If I am correct in this statement—and I do not see how it can be questioned—then is the appropriation for immediate emancipation just and proper under the Constitution, while that for prospective emancipation is without any sanction, except what it may find in the sentiments of justice and humanity.

It is proposed to vote $10,000,000 of money to promote emancipation ten years from now. Perhaps I am sanguine, but I cannot doubt that before the expiration of that period slavery will die in Missouri under the awakened judgment of the people, even without the action of Congress. If our resources were infinite, we might tender this large sum by way of experiment; but with a treasury drained to the bottom, and with a debt accumulating in fabulous proportions, I do not understand how we can vote millions, which, in the first place, will be of little or no service in the suppression of the rebellion, and, in the second place, which will be simply a largess in no way essential to the subversion of slavery.

Whatever is given for immediate emancipation is given for the national defence, and for the safety and glory of the Republic. It will be a blow at the rebellion. Whatever is given for prospective emancipation will be a gratuity to slaveholders and a tribute to slavery. Pardon me if I repeat what I have already said in this debate, "millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute"; millions for defence against peril from whatever quarter it may come; but not a cent for tribute in any quarter, especially not a cent for tribute to the loathsome tyranny of slavery.

I know it is sometimes said that even prospective emancipation will help to weaken the rebellion. That it will impair the confidence in slavery and also its value, I cannot doubt; but it is equally clear that it will leave slavery still alive and on its legs, and just so long as this is the case, there must be controversy and debate with attending weakness; while reaction will perpetually lift its crest. Instead of tranquillity, which we all seek for Missouri, we shall have contention. Instead of peace, we shall have prolonged war. Every year's delay, aye, sir, every week's delay in dealing death to slavery leaves just so much of opportunity to the rebellion; for so long as slavery is allowed to exist in Missouri, the rebellion will still struggle, not without hope for its ancient mastery. But let slavery cease at once, and all this will be changed. There will be no room for controversy or debate with its attending weakness, nor can reaction lift its crest. There will be no opportunity to the rebellion, which must cease all efforts there, when Missouri can no longer be a slave State. Freedom will become our watchful, generous and invincible ally, while the well-being, the happiness, the repose, and the renown of Missouri will be established forever.

Thus far, sir, I have presented the argument on grounds peculiar to this case; and here I might stop. Having shown that, as a military necessity, and for the sake of that economy which it is our duty to cultivate, emancipation must be immediate, I need not go further; but I do not content myself here. The whole question is open between immediate emancipation and prospective emancipation; or, in other words, between doing right at once, and doing it at some future day. Procrastination is the thief not only of time, but of virtue itself. But such is the nature of man that he is disposed always to delay, so that he does nothing to-day which he can put off till to-morrow. Perhaps in no single matter has this disposition been more apparent than with regard to slavery. Every consideration of humanity, justice, religion, reason, common sense, and history, all demanded the instant cessation of an intolerable wrong, without procrastination or delay. But human nature would not yield; and we have been driven to argue the question whether an outrage, asserting property in man, denying the conjugal relation, annulling the parental relation, shutting out human improvement, and robbing its victim of all the fruits of his industry—the whole, in order to compel work without wages—should be stopped instantly or gradually. It is only when we regard slavery in its essential elements, and look at its unutterable and unquestionable atrocity, that we can fully comprehend the mingled folly and wickedness of this question. If it were merely a question of economy, or a question of policy, then the Senate might properly debate whether the change should be instant or gradual; but considerations of economy and policy are all absorbed in the higher claims of justice and humanity. There is no question whether justice and humanity shall be immediate or gradual. Men are to cease at once from wrong doing; they are to obey the Ten Commandments instantly, and not gradually.

Senators who argue for prospective emancipation show themselves insensible to the true character of slavery, or insensible to the requirements of reason. One or the other of these alternatives must be accepted.

Shall property in man be disowned immediately or only prospectively? Reason answers, immediately.

Shall the parental relation be recognized immediately or only prospectively? Reason is indignant at the question.

Shall the conjugal relation be maintained immediately or only prospectively? Reason recoils from the wicked absurdity of the inquiry.

Shall the opportunities of knowledge, including the right to read the Book of Life, be opened immediately or prospectively? Reason brands the idea of delay as impious.

Shall the fruits of his own industry be given to a man immediately or prospectively? Reason insists that every man shall have his own without postponement.

And history, thank God! speaking by examples, testifies in conformity with reason. The conclusion is irresistible. If you would contribute to the strength and glory of the United States; if you would bless Missouri; if you would benefit the slave master; if you would elevate the slave; and still further, if you would afford an example which shall fortify and sanctify the Republic, making it at once citadel and temple, do not put off the day of freedom. In this case, more than in any other, he gives twice who quickly gives.

GEN. BANKS AND THE PLANTERS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

NEW ORLEANS, Wednesday, Feb. 11, 1863.

I INCLOSE you a very important circular just issued by the Sequestration Commission, under approval of Major-Gen. Banks, to regulate the future labor of slaves in the "exempted" districts. For days past, the St. Charles Hotel was the rendezvous of large bodies of planters and slave-owners, from all parts of the State, who met privately and adjourned with all that mystery which denoted that some important transaction was going on. The result of their conferences was an agreement to employ the negroes at wages, and the system was embodied in a circular which I send you.

How far the arrangement proposed by the planters—and in which, if I understand the matter rightly, the negroes, must either be organized or be considered vagrants—comes up to the proper standard of "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," it is not for me to say; but this I do know, that the wages that have been paid, and remuneratively too, by private individuals, were as follows: $10 per month for mechanics, etc.; $6 to $7 for field hands and $4 for women. In such cases, they were also fed, but had to find their own clothing; which, with the negro, we know to be no very formidable consideration. There are other most important features in this new measure, upon the merits or demerits of which it will be left for you to judge.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
HEADQUARTERS U. S. SEQUESTRATION COMMISSION,
NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 5, 1863.

The officers of the government will induce the slaves to return to the plantations where they belong, with their families, and when returned will require them and those remaining upon the plantations to work diligently and faithfully on the plantations for one year, to maintain respectful deportment to their employers, and perfect subordination to their duties, upon condition that the planters or other employers will feed, clothe and treat them properly, and give to them at the end of the year one-twenti-eth part of the year's crop, or a fixed monthly compensation in cases where it may be more convenient, as follows: Mechanics, sugar-makers, drivers, etc., $3 each; able-bodied field men, $2 each; able-bodied field women, house servants, nurses, etc., $1 each.

The proportion reserved for the slaves shall be divided into shares and distributed according to the value of their labor, as follows: Mechanics, sugar-makers, drivers, etc., three shares each; able-bodied field men, two shares each; able-bodied field women, house servants, nurses, etc., one share each.

All negroes not otherwise employed will be required to labor upon the public works, and no person capable of labor will be supported at the public expense in idleness.

E. G. BECKWITH, Colonel,
President of the Sequestration Commission.

The planter or other employer has to subscribe the following agreement:

The undersigned hereby accept the arrangement above proposed, and agree to carry it out, on their part, for one year from the date thereof, it being distinctly understood that the crop referred to means the commercial crop, and the acceptance of this contract does not imply the surrender of any right of property in the slave or other right of the owner.

The following is Gen. Banks's decision on this subject:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
OFFICE OF THE SEQUESTRATION COMMISSION,
NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 6, 1863.

In accordance with the agreement between the military authorities and the planters, based upon General Orders No. 12, January 29, 1863, the Provost-Marshal of each parish is authorized to receive the signatures of planters to said agreement (a printed copy of which is herewith enclosed), and is ordered to carry out in good faith the provisions of the agreement on the part of the authorities.

He will, in good faith, offer all fair and legal inducements to the negroes within his district, in whatever condition or service they may be found, to return to their families and the plantations where they belong.

When any negro has acquiesced in the terms proposed, the Provost-Marshal will see that he fulfils his engagements for one year, in good faith. He shall be required to remain upon the plantation to which he is bound, to work faithfully and industriously, and maintain a respectful and subordinate deportment toward his employer.

The Provost-Marshals are ordered to prohibit the harboring and employment of negroes laboring upon plantations under this agreement, by other parties, either civil or military.

All negroes not acquiescing in the proposed agreement, not otherwise employed, shall immediately be put to labor upon the public works, and all negroes found in the country, cities, villages, or about the military stations, without visible occupation or means of subsistence, shall be arrested as vagrants, and put to labor upon the public works of the Quartermaster's plantations.

The Provost-Marshals will also see that the agreement entered into by the planters in regard to the negroes is faithfully and fairly carried out.

It is not expected that an individual contract is to be made with the negroes who return to their plantations or remain upon them. Such arrangement would be impracticable. The fact that they return or remain is to be taken as proof of their assent. The officers of the government who advise and assist their return will feel that they are responsible that the advantages promised shall be secured to them.

By order of the United States Sequestration Commission.
N. P. BANKS, Major-General Commanding.

SPEECH OF DANIEL S. DICKINSON.

[Among the speakers at the Republican celebration of Washington's Birthday, in this city, Feb. 22d, was the Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON, formerly "the old Democratic War-horse," and a supporter of Breckinridge at the last Presidential election. He now avows himself an out-and-out radical, against all compromise with the rebels, for emancipation and for employing negro soldiers. We copy the larger portion of his speech.]

WHAT shall the Empire State say? What shall the Empire State do in this emergency? There is no half-way house—there are no compromise measures here. There are two great antagonisms, a government and a rebellion, a government at Washington, a rebellion hatched in hell [cheers]. Where shall she cast her potential voice? She has taken up her position with the government which she helped to found, and of which she sits empress crowning this mighty court. We say, the Empire State shall say: War, uncompromising war [loud cheering], war to the knife [continued cheering], until the rebellion is put down [applause]. If a riot should arise in your city here, would our friend the Mayor send out an ambassador of peace, or would he send out the representatives of the law in their majesty to crush it down to darkness and to dust? [Cheers.] It is a question between the government and the rebellion. It has been nothing else, it is nothing else, and it never will be anything else; and you may baptize it at the font of infidel politics as often as you choose, and when it comes out the same bastard of Rebellion will be seen [laughter and cheers]. But it is feared by the politicians that some incidents may be drawn in that may be uncomfortable. This reminds me of the transmigration philosopher who begged a man to desist from the chastisement of a dog, for, he said, he could recognize in its howl the voice of a deceased friend. There are a great many politicians, I think now, who the moment they hear slavery crying, believe that they hear the voice of a deceased friend [loud laughter and applause]. Now, I have been one of those conservative people, not according to the modern doctrine of conservatism—for I was old-fashioned in my definition—but I was for letting the institution of slavery entirely alone to work out its own problem under the guidance of a beneficent Providence—not interfering with it in any shape or manner, but leaving it to the localities where it existed, to be dealt with in their own time and way. When they said "Constitution," I said "Constitution," When they appealed to that as their shield, I invoked its protection for them. When they said powder, I said powder [applause]. And when they inquired who can make war upon the Beast, I said the American people [cheering]. I have had no anxieties upon this subject, except to afford them the shield of the Constitution, so long as they invoked it. But when they threw it away, when they resorted to arms, I said then, put them down by the whole power of the American people [applause]. And I say so now [cheers]. I was an old-fashioned Democrat, as you may remember. I am a Democrat now [applause] of the straightest sect. But a great many who were Abolitionists when I was a Democrat—or tried to be if it paid well—now call me to account, and say I am radical, very radical, indeed, and they are conservative. Well, I will admit they are conservative in one sense, and only one, and that is not the etymological or technical sense, but it is the American sense, and that is, opposed to the government and all its institutions and interests [applause]. They say I am radical. I admit I am radical if this is radicalism; if they intend by this that I am for making this cure complete, and thorough, and effectual, then I am radical, for, being fairly in, I have an idea to see this war fairly out. The question of Emancipation has become one of the questions of the day. It cannot be blinked any longer; and I have no disposition to get around it. I will meet it as I have always met questions. Many of you thought I was on the wrong side; but I always took one side. I never took both sides on any question [laughter and cheers]. I took the side of letting this question entirely alone, so long as they appealed to the Constitution; when they threw that away, and repudiated it, I said, as I say now—and I want the reporters to be sure to get me down—I speak for the benefit of political sneaks generally [cheering]—I say that the only safeguard of slavery was the recognition of the Constitution; that the opinion of the world is against it; all the instincts of humanity and religion are against it; the advance of civilization is against it; the interests—moral, material, commercial and religious—of the country are all against it; and while I would prosecute the war solely and entirely for the purpose of putting down this rebellion, if slavery happens to go along with it, I will hold up both my hands and cry amen to putting them both down [great applause]. I never favored it as an institution. I favored letting it alone when they invoked the Constitution; when they threw that away, and exposed its nakedness and deformity, I cared not how quick it went by the board [cheers]. They sent their pitcher to the well once too much [laughter]. Icarus soared so near heaven that the sun's heat melted away his waxen wings, and he came down to destruction, and baptized the Icarian Sea, we are told. Although his father cried, "Icarus, Icarus," he heeded not, he was determined, in his ambition and security, to soar up to the heavens; and thus he was destroyed. Slavery had traded so long in the politics of the country, had controlled convictions, had made the mean mighty and the little great, that it thought it could do anything, and remembering that soaring upward like Icarus melted waxen wings, it went right downward. But it melted its waxen wings there, and destroyed the institution forever [great laughter and applause]. The friends of slavery have done for it what its enemies never could have done; and the Abolitionists ought to hold a day of thanksgiving and prayer for the friends of slavery for destroying it from the face of the civilized earth [applause]. What we want in the Empire State, this great and mighty Empire State is, a reformation in our political system. Names have become controlling. I suppose I am regarded as a heretic, now-a-days, from the Democratic faith, and I propose, if the doctrines I have advocated for the last two years are heretical, I propose to be regarded so hereafter. Like the juryman who insisted upon his position, I do not propose to change my position under any circumstances in this matter, but to stand where I have taken up my ground. I am not conservative; I am radical. Radical let it be, then. I was never of the trading, the robbing, the expediency class of Democrats. I belonged to the Jacksonian Democracy, whose creed, first and foremost, was, that the Union must and shall be preserved [cheers]. There I stand to-day, and when they set up an image for me to worship, I say to them as Wallace said to Edward:

"Unto my God, three times I daily bow,
But coxcomb knight, pray what art thou?"

[Laughter and cheers.]

Our Democratic friends do not acknowledge them as the Democracy—they are a spurious imitation, not the genuine Jacob Townsend [laughter]. They say they obtained a great conservative victory in the last Fall's election. We have all heard of the very lucky individual who drew the elephant in a lottery [laughter], and who could not sell him, and could not give him away, and could not keep him, and did not know exactly what to do with him when he got him. Now, I fear that our friends who succeeded in the last Fall's election have drawn the political elephant; they seem to be a good deal troubled with him just now, and don't know precisely what to do with him. They are evidently in divided counsels. Before the election they were opposed to arbitrary arrests—they were opposed to these thousand interferences that they complain of—but since the election they seem to have changed their position. They changed their spots, as the good lady advised her little son the leopard could. "Mother," he said, "can the leopard change his spots?" "To be sure he can, my son," she said; "when he gets tired of one spot he can go to another" [laughter]. They seem to be changing their spots in the same way. Before the elections they were for the most liberal propositions of peace. Why to be sure they were. The Southern people were our brethren; burning a little gunpowder and murdering a few thousands of men, but then it would be all right; and they hoped it would be made up by some political action, and all be smoothed over so that the brothers of a common tie might meet again in a National Convention and nominate some gentleman, either fit or unfit, for the Presidency, and all go along nicely as before. But when they came to enunciate these ideas, and these gentlemen at the South seeing in their imagination a rope and a kind of an uncomfortable noose at the end of it, which does not exactly suit their ambition, said: We will have nothing to do with you one way or the other, we will have separation any way; then these gentlemen began to reconsider their idea, and some of them think that upon the whole it is best to prosecute the war. That has been my idea from the beginning. There has not been a day from the time they fired upon Sumter to this moment but what I would have hewed them as Saul did Agag [cheers]. It is said we should not have negro soldiers. Well, suppose they do, I am in favor of them [cheers]. It seems to be feared that they will get between the wind and our nobility. I profess to be an average humanitarian and philanthropist, but I had much rather my black friend would be shot than myself I can tell you [applause]. But no, that is one of the political ideas, the mean political ideas of the time, to refuse to avail ourselves of what no people in the history of man, either civilized or savage, ever did refuse in the course of any war from the time of Moses to the present day. No people have ever refused in war the aid of an inferior order of civilization. But it suited the purposes of the day, and hence negroes, however efficient, must not be used in battle. It detracts from the dignity and the character of those who wish to fight the battles of the country [laughter]. I must confess I am not troubled with any such Chesterfieldism. The plethoric Turk visiting the European nobility, asked them when engaged in a dance why they did not let their servants do it for them [laughter]; and I confess that I have often inquired when I see our sons and brothers and the husbands of our fair women going to the war, why not send the negroes? I say, let us avail ourselves of every element, slave or free, black or white, on two legs or four, to put down this accursed rebellion [applause]. In the progress of the course of this controversy it has been said that New England must be repudiated. Ah, yes, repudiate New England, repudiate the storehouse which furnishes you all your naval supplies; repudiate the mother who has given you your life blood, and your energy and your character, and all that you bear out with you to fight the great battles of life! [Cheers.] I have not learned from our opposing friends—the Democratic party they call themselves, but I want to examine their warrants and see if they out-rank me—I have not understood precisely what they propose to do. Their ideas appear to be as clear on the subject of war as those of Jack Bunsby upon the subject of navigation. "If so be," said that renowned and experienced navigator, "the ship is not afloat, probably she has gone down" [laughter]. They know not what to do. They are upon false premises. They are angling and bobbing after a bite from political parties. They have not any great, and general, and leading ideas in this matter. They call their victory of last Fall a conservative victory. Now, let us look at that a little. Go out to the hills and the valleys; go along the meandering streams; go where the stars shine in all their beauty, and where the breezes play in all their freshness and fragrance, and what has been the result? Why, there you see, my friends, there you see a majority of between 20,000 and 30,000 rolled up against this mighty conservative element. Where is the overthrow? Go down into the wards of this city, where, I doubt not, there are some very good people, but where liquor-shops predominate, where danee-houses send up their music, where brothels fester, and where villany and immorality congregate, and you will find that entire majority overthrown, and that is the conservative victory of 1862 [cheers and laughter].

SCOTT AND McCLELLAN.

LETTER FROM GEN. SCOTT.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 4, 1861.

Hon. S. CAMERON, *Secretary of War.*

SIR: You are, I believe, aware that I hailed the arrival here of Gen. McClellan as an event of happy consequence to the country and the army. Indeed, if I did not call for him, I heartily approved of the suggestion, and gave him the most cordial reception and support. He, however, had hardly entered upon his new duties, when, encouraged to communicate directly with the President and certain members of the Cabinet, he in a few days forgot that he had any immediate commander, and has now long prided himself upon treating me with uniform neglect, running into disobedience of orders. Of the smaller matters, neglects, though in themselves grave military offences, I need not speak, in the face of the following. To suppress an irregularity more conspicuous in Gen. McClellan than in any other officer, I publish the following:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, Sept. 16, 1861.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 17.—There are irregularities in the correspondence of the army which need prompt correction. It is highly important that junior officers on duty be not permitted to correspond with the General-in-Chief or other commander on current official business except through intermediate commanders. And the same rule applies to correspondence with the President direct, or with him through the Secretary of War, unless it be by the special invitation or request of the President.

By command of Lieut.-Gen. SCOTT.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant-Adjt.-Gen.

With this order fresh in his memory, Major-Gen. McClellan addressed two important communications to the Secretary of War, on respectively the 19th and 20th of the same month, over my head, and how many since to the Secretary, and even to the President direct, I have not inquired, but many, I have no doubt; besides daily oral communications with the same high functionaries, all without my knowlege.

Second, to correct another class of grave neglects, I, the same day, caused to be addressed to Gen. McClellan the following order:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, Sept. 16, 1861.

To Major-Gen. MCCLELLAN, *U. S. A., commanding Department of the Potomac.*

The Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac will cause the positions, State and number of troops under him to be reported at once to general headquarters by divisions, brigades and independent regiments or detachments, which report will be followed by reports of new troops as they arrive, with the dispositions made of them, together with all the material changes which may take place in the same army.

By command of Lieut.-Gen. SCOTT.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant-Adjt.-Gen.

Eighteen days have now elapsed and not the slightest respect has been shown to either of these orders by Major-Gen. McClellan. Perhaps he will say in respect to the latter it has been difficult for him to procure exact returns of divisions, brigades, etc. No doubt, but why not have given me proximate returns, such as he so eagerly furnished the President and certain Secretaries? Has, then, a senior no corrective power over a junior officer in case of such persistent neglect and disobedience? The remedy by arrest and trial by Court-Martial would probably soon cure the evil; but it has been feared a conflict of authority near the head of the army would be highly encouraging to the enemies and depressing to the friends of the Union. Hence my long forbearance, and continuing—though but nominally—in duty. I shall try to hold out till the arrival of Major-Gen. Halleck, when, as his presence will give me increased confidence in the safety of the Union, and as I am unable to ride in the saddle or walk, by reason of dropsy in my feet and legs, and paralysis in the small of the back, I shall definitively retire from the army.

I have the honor to remain, with high respect, your most obedient servant, WINFIELD SCOTT.

[True copy.]

SENATOR WILSON ON COPPERHEAD DEMOCRACY.

[In the U. S. Senate, on the 20th ult., the Hon. HENRY WILSON of Massachusetts made a speech (incidentally replying to the treasonable talk of Powell of Ky.), of which we have the following report by telegraph.]

MR. PRESIDENT: When this war commenced I made a resolution to do all I could to put down the rebellion, and to do it without any party feeling in the matter, and I have endeavored to act in conformity with that resolution. In all the names that have come before the Committee of which I am a member, over 3,000 of them, there never has been a party division on any of them. But it is hard, sir, to sit and hear such speeches as that uttered by the Senator from Kentucky to-day. That Senator has in his place passed an eulogium on the body of men who put forth that address, an address which the loyal heart of America will pronounce treason to our Constitution. The Senator wishes that paper to go upon the record as an honor to the men who penned it, and as a record of infamy on the Administration. I, too, sir, desire to have it go upon the record, that the record may be made to all coming generations as the evidence that the men who conceived that address, who signed that address, and who applaud that address are traitors to the country and the nation (loud applause in the galleries, amid cries of order).

The CHAIR said if any more such demonstrations were made in the galleries they should be immediately cleared.

MR. WILSON—I desire that the paper may go upon record as a paper that arraigns the Administration, because the brave men of the North-west, who tread the soil of Kentucky with arms in their hands to maintain the safety of that State and the cause of our common country have taken for their support a little straw, or hay, or corn, or wheat. I desire that address shall go upon record because it calls upon the Senator and Representatives of Kentucky to oppose giving men or money to carry on this war for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. Yes, sir, let that paper go upon the record, and let the eulogium pronounced here to-day by the Senator from Kentucky go upon the record, and let the loyal heart of America decide whether that address is loyal, and whether that eulogium is worthy of a loyal Senator. Sir, it is strange that when this Republic is menaced, and when 600,000 or 700,000 armed Democrats are traversing the soil of this country to overturn the institutions of the nation, it is strange that men can rise day after day in the Senate of the United States, with no words of rebuke for armed treason, but only denunciation of the President of the United States, and of the loyal men of this country who are supporting his Administration, and supporting the cause of our country. I should think the Senator from Kentucky, and the men who unite with him in these denunciations, would feel the blush of shame mantling their cheeks when they think of the acts of the men they once followed, and whose counsels led them for so many years, whose hands are now red with the

nounced as a tyrant and a usurper, and the Senator from Kentucky talks about the President's usurpations. The history of these times will show to all who come after us that never in the history of mankind has it happened that an Administration has been so charitable, so humane, so kind to traitors in arms, or to men who sympathized with traitors in arms. History will do justice to the President, and show that if anything he has had too much heart and too much kindness for the stern duties belonging to his office; and yet this man, true and faithful, borne down with the weight of care and duty imposed upon him, is denounced here day after day as a usurper and a tyrant. It is in every sense of the word untrue. It is unjust; it is wicked; and such will be the judgment of the country, and of the Christian and civilized world in the present and coming generations. I have witnessed his kindness and charity toward these men whose hands are dripping with the blood of my neighbors and friends. I have wished for one hour only of Andrew Jackson. Sir, instead of being a tyrant and a usurper, he dealt too leniently and too gently with the wickedest rebellion the world ever saw. A rebellion without cause, a rebellion conceived in iniquity, and brought forth at a time and under circumstances that should meet the abhorrence of mankind. But all these assaults on the President will fall harmless at his feet, and the feeling of patriotism that is now rising in the East and in the West will overwhelm all these traitors and sympathizers with rebellion. The brave men who are now fighting in the field and pouring out their blood for their country, are turning back to strike a blow at the men who are sympathizing with those who are trying to shoot them down in front, and it is plain to see, sir, that these men are cowering before the storm of the rising patriotism and indignation of this nation. I tell these men, be they here or elsewhere, that all their talk of revolution in the free States, all their attempted legislation and acts in favor of rebellion, will meet the stern condemnation of the patriots of America. They begin to feel it, they are hearing from the brave men in the field, who will brook no sympathy with treason. I have seen a letter from a gallant Admiral of the navy which states that the first news he had of the Democratic victory in New York was its being shouted at his men by the rebel pickets. Those victories were hailed with joy throughout all rebeldom as the triumph of their Democratic brethren in the North. There are sympathizers with treason all over the North and even in Massachusetts. Last year when the report came that Banks was driven out of the valley of the Shenandoah by Jackson, there was a man who laid down in his cornfield and rolled in the dirt, so excessive was his joy. Mr. Wilson contended that the President had the right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and make arrests when the life of the country was at stake. He believed that it was his duty to issue an Emancipation proclamation, and to put down the rebellion by striking at its cause and support—at that institution which had raised two crops for rebellion. He was in favor of using every means to crush the rebellion, and he would use slaves for all military purposes. The government might take our sons, and brothers, and neighbors to fight and to be placed in the front of battle to be killed by the rebels; but no, it must not touch the slave, nor make any use of him to put down this rebellion. He was for the country, and the whole country, and in favor of employing all means to crush out treason.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1863.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE NEXT THREE MONTHS.

THE look of things always greatly depends upon the point from which we take our view of them. Things moral and political, as well as things physical. And especially in times of storm and earthquake, when the old foundations seem to be breaking up, does the scene of things take a different coloring and different proportions, according to the standpoint of the spectator. Still, there is an actual, positive, essential condition of matters, moral, material, political, or mixed, which may be ascertained, at least approximately. To do this is the business of the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society as to the state of affairs in this country, as affecting slavery, or affected by it. And this we are to do, as we said last week, by standing as nearly as possible in the point of view of a slave, possessed of such intelligence and information as we happen to have. We are, to speak nautically, the forward watch, the men on the look-out, and we are not to infer that the voyage is safely over because the ship is nearing the shore. On the contrary, we are to be the more alive to the dangers of the navigation and the rocks and quicksands which have wrecked many a gallant argosy within hail of land. And when we discern, or even only think we do, a rock ahead, we are not to keep back the cry of warning because it may disturb the dreams of the crew that they are safe in port. If the alarm be false, there is no harm done. If real, it was the only chance of salvation.

We wish that we could take the rose-colored views of the situation which our amiable optimists delight in. But the observation which we make of facts and the little knowledge we have of history forbid us to see things with their unquestioning eyes. We know what slight circumstances have changed the whole tide of history, plunging one country into the gulfs of despotism and lifting another to the safe level of civil liberty. In the fourteenth century, France and Spain had a better prospect of a middle-class bulwark against king and nobles than England. Could Van Artevelde have persuaded his burgher forces to await the assault of Charles VI., instead of making the attack, at the battle of Rosbecque, the whole history of France would have been changed. It was a very slight trembling of the balance which, more than once, turned in favor of Parliament against Charles I. in England. It is believed that a majority of the English people were in favor of James II. in 1688, as against William of Orange. Napoleon, who was a spectator, affirmed that a head only was wanted on the Tenth of August, 1792, to put down the insurrection and make all the difference to Louis XVI. between a throne and the guillotine. And he proved it three years later on the Day of the Sections, 13th Vendémiare. Our own Revolution would have failed, for that time, had it not been for the French Alliance, and, with it, it would, had Clive accepted the command offered him and saved it from the McClellans of George III. We hold, therefore, that those minds are over-sanguine that think the work of Emancipation is virtually done, and that all that remains for Abolitionists to do is to cry in joyful believing, "Great is Lincoln, and Seward is his Prophet!" Virtually done it is, to be sure, and was on the 1st of January, 1831, when Garrison started *The Liberator*. But, practically, it is yet to be decided whether this great deliverance shall be completed within two or three years, or whether slavery shall drag itself along for at least another generation. And this, we think, is to be decided by the events of the next three or four moths.

And for these reasons. There are two dangers to which the slave is exposed. First, the return of the rebels to their allegiance, on the condition of the old guarantees of slavery and new ones; and, secondly, the recognition of the Independence of the Confederacy, leaving slavery at its disposal, of course. That Mr. Seward believed the first of these alternatives to be possible, is proved by his letters of instruction to our ministers abroad at the opening of the rebellion. Why should he have been explicitly emphatic on the determination of the government to put down the rebellion without harming slavery? Perhaps, it was its sworn duty to do so, if it could. But why parade the disgrace of the Nation before foreign Powers? It was none of their business, in any way. Those declarations were not meant for the information of the Courts of France and England, but of that of Richmond. It was an authentic statement of the highest nature to the rebels that a *locus penitentiæ* was left open to them. So as to M. Mercier's visit to Richmond, which he says Mr. Seward "almost seemed" to wish him to make, but which he should have suffered him to make, if he could not hinder it, only under strong protest, why was he in this amiable frame of mind, excepting that it gave him the opportunity of so distinguished a mediator to assure those murderous villains that the North had no desire for vengeance, and that he hoped some day to sit in Congress with them? We can hardly conceive of anything that could give comfort and encouragement to the enemy more effectually than such a message, formal or informal, from a prime minister to red-handed traitors in arms. That Mr. Seward has in no wise changed this opinion we have the testimony of all the Radical members of Congress, and, more than that, the well known sentiments and action of Thurlow Weed, his other self and political manager. And we have the uncontradicted endorsement of *The National Intelligencer* of a statement that this veteran wire-puller is even now organizing a party in opposition to the Radical element, out of the hunkerish portions of the old ones. Such a party can have no purpose but the thwarting of the policy of the proclamation and the reëstablishment "of the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is."

It may be said that no such arrangement can be made, because the rebels will not agree to it. Who knows that they may not? Who is so likely to know such facts and probabilities as Mr. Seward, who has the control of the Secret Service money, and whose business it is to be informed as to the state of the enemy's camp? Is it likely that his whole course, even his drafts on European credulity at sixty and ninety days, which have made him and us ridiculous, had not some ground of which we know nothing? How unanimous was the whole North eighteen months ago! Who knows that the apparent unanimity of the South may not be as hollow as ours, and that, some fine day, we may find them cheek by jowl with us again? At any rate, our safety from such a catastrophe, in the event of the prevalence of such a party, would lie only in the obstinacy of the rebels. Now, we hold that it was the duty of those members of Congress who hailed the proclamation as the statement of the only way of safety was to see to it that it had free course and fair play. They knew that Mr. Seward had opposed and delayed the proclamation and had no faith in its efficacy. Its friends ought not to have suffered him to remain in the premiership, if they could remove him. That they knew this, is plain from their private attempts to influence the President, the failure of which has made him stronger than ever. Had they moved an Address in each House to the President, declaring want of confidence, and asking his removal from the Cabinet, preliminary to the voting the supplies, we are sure he would have had to give way to an Emancipationist in heart. That golden opportunity is gone forever, and we have to take our chance with him for our pilot, subject to such political combinations as he and Mr. Weed can engineer in the future. We think the prospect so much the worse than it was on New Year's Day.

Still, there is hope in victory. If Hooker is victorious, when he can move—so far well. If he meet with disaster, McClellan becomes not merely a possibility, and a probability, but a certainty. If Hunter have possession of Charleston, Savannah and Mobile, and if Vicksburg be in our hands, within two or three months, and a black column be pushing successfully into the thickest of the slave region, the slaves joining their deliverers and ranging themselves on our side, it is not likely that any Washington intrigues can hinder success in this shape. For thus slavery would receive an immedicable wound. But should these projects fail of success—and, surely, the history of the last twelvemonth is no guarantee of it—suppose Dupont and Hunter repulsed at Charleston, and the siege of Vicksburg raised, and no progress made towards Richmond, at the time the nine months men are going home, what then? Four hundred thousand men went for love two years ago, of whom scarce half survive, three hundred thousand went for money, last Summer; how many more remain to go, for love or money, who are fit to go? Can the resources of the country stand such a strain on its productive energies without detriment to its tax-paying quality? Could the force be raised without the conscription, and could the conscription be used without exciting a reaction in favor of peace on any terms? Would not the peace demagogues have some show of reason in saying to the Administration, "We have given you a million of men and two billion of dollars—how much more food for contractors do you want?" Is all this out of the probable range of human action? Are these events beyond the pale of probability? It seems to us, not. With success in the field, and especially with negro success, decided and unquestionable, before the term of the nine months men expires, and the country would be saved through practical Emancipation, beyond the power of politician or compromiser to hurt it. Without success, within that time, we fear that the reaction in public feeling could not be stayed from demanding an end to the war. And then we should have to pray God that the rebels may be strengthened to insist on Recognition, instead of Reorganization, for they could have their own terms if they would consent to come back and govern us.

These are some of the reasons why we think the next three months to be so full of fate for this nation, and why we are earnest to call the attention of Abolitionists and the public, as far as we have access to it, to this state of facts and probabilities. Not in despair, for we do not know the sensation; but in simple common sense. Slavery will come to an end, whether we act wisely or foolishly; but its end may be hastened by wisdom and delayed by foolishness. It may be that this chance is to pass by, as did that of 1787, when the North yielded to Carolina and Georgia in the Convention. The folly of that generation saved slavery for seventy years. The folly of this may give it another quarter of a century of life. But we trust that the Abolitionists will have to bear no part of this great responsibility, through their sloth or their simplicity.

THE ALBANY CONVENTION.

GHENT, N. Y., March 1, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE Convention held at Albany during the past week was not largely attended, but the meetings were quiet and earnest. The resolutions expressed the sincere convictions of nearly all present. When they were read at the opening of the Convention on Wednesday afternoon, they were dissented from by two gentlemen of Albany. Gerrit Smith replied very impressively. He said of them, "When I heard them read, I was so impressed by the grandeur of the thought and style, that I could not criticise. And now on hearing again those objected to, I do not find anything untrue. I am strengthened by their power." His presence during that session contributed much to the interest of the Convention.

The criticisms upon the Church called forth discussion. Those who do not see that the war is the result of slavery, as surely as pain comes of putting one's hand in the fire, do not recognize the distinction between favoring emancipation as a military necessity and demanding it as the only means of expiating the sin of the past, and building on granite for the future. They accept it as enough for us to answer the letter, while Abolitionists feel that we should fulfil the spirit of the command, "Cease to do evil." Repentance is the foundation of a new and worthier life. If we omit the foundation, can we build the temple?

Parker Pillsbury and Aaron M. Powell embodied in their discourses the spirit of the resolutions. Theodore Tilton was also present, and gave two very earnest addresses. His appreciation of colored people is most beautiful. He baptized all who heard him with his own spirit of outgushing love for all.

Blessings upon all who appreciate the almost "unrecognized gift of God" in the colored race. Not less are they blessed by intercourse with these people of "lowly spirit" and unquestioning faith, than those who receive their kindly sympathy and aid.

It was a new work in the Convention to ask provision for men and women freed by the government. The bud, fertilized by the blood of precious fathers, husbands and brothers, is day by day swelling and will yet open into the perfect flower of Liberty. E. M. P.

New York State Annual Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York met in Albany, at Association Hall, on Wednesday, February 25th, at 2½ o'clock p.m. The Convention was called to order by AARON M. POWELL when the following organization was adopted:

President—LYDIA MOTT, of Albany.

Vice-Presidents—SUSAN B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, THEODORE TILTON, of New York, JOB WILBUR, of Easton.

Secretaries—ELIZABETH M. POWELL, S. C. KIMBALL.

Business Committee—PARKER PILLSBURY, A. M. POWELL, PHEBE H. JONES, MARY BARGUET, Z. BROCKETT.

Finance Committee—ANNA RICE POWELL, DR. PERKINS.

A. M. POWELL then addressed the Convention. He referred to the commencement of this series of annual meetings seven years ago, and spoke of the apparent impregnability of slavery then, and of its shattered and broken defenses now. From the contrast he derived much encouragement for present and continued effort until the last fetter shall have been broken. He referred to the proclamation of January first, and rejoiced in the fact that since our last annual meeting thousands of the hitherto enslaved had become free, and that to three million, and upwards, freedom was now pledged by the Federal government. Great indeed had been the change in national affairs. We are assembled, he said, if not to celebrate the complete triumph of the anti-slavery movement, which could not be while a single slave remains, still under greatly altered conditions, and with increased opportunities for the successful prosecution of our work. Now, it was the President's first duty, in the midst of a devastating war, by virtue of his position, to utterly exterminate slavery from the land.

To encourage and admonish him to do this, not alone as a military necessity, but as an act of justice, was a prominent object of this meeting.

The evil and threatening omens of this period were spoken of. The rebels were bold and defiant, and their allies at the North never so active and earnest as now. A more threatening sign of the times is the new political movement called "conservative," which cares nothing for liberty, longs for old fraternal relations with slavery, and hopes only for supremacy. This movement doubtless began immediately after the telegraph communicated to Auburn the fact that the Republican Convention had nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. We are all admonished that now, as hitherto, only high-toned moral principle is adequate to the demands of the hour. Abolitionism, so long derided, and now not generally received, would be found to have embodied the only real statesmanship of this period. The statesman who ignores justice and liberty is only a pretender. Neither President nor people as yet sufficiently recognize this. It is this lesson in behalf of absolute right and impartial freedom which it still devolves upon us faithfully and religiously to teach.

PARKER PILLSBURY, Esq., from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions, which were read:

1. Resolved, That we congratulate the people of the Empire State, and the friends of freedom throughout the land, that since our last annual meeting, thousands of the hitherto enslaved have become free, and that freedom to three million or more, through Presidential edict, is now, henceforth and forever, pledged by the Federal government.

2. Resolved, That as an anti-slavery organization, our conflict with slavery has been eminently of a moral, peaceful and religious character—a simple demand that slavery should be repented of and put away, as an outrage against justice, a crime against humanity, and a sin against God.

3. Resolved, That our hostility to the Union has not arisen from any want of loyalty or respect to government, or to any Union based on liberty and justice, though it had included under one Constitution a continent or a hemisphere; but we are, and ever have been, inflexibly opposed to any alliance, *in State or Church*, with the breeders, buyers and sellers of men, women and children, to be owned and held as slaves; and hence our motto—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

4. Resolved, That the present fearful conflict between the North and South does not change materially our mission in its nature or method; nor release us from the obligation to demand the freedom of every slave, as well in the border or loyal States as in those in more daring rebellion against the government.

5. Resolved, That our work as Abolitionists, with the claims of humanity upon us, will not be accomplished while a single slave remains in involuntary bondage, within the jurisdiction of the American government.

6. Resolved, That we regard the present war as the natural retribution for the long-committed crimes and cruelties of slavery, in the guilt of which the North and the South are both implicated—a terrible fulfilment of the prophetic words of the immortal Jefferson, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that His justice cannot sleep forever!" Nor, as the God of the oppressed is ever true and faithful, can we see any deliverance from the desolating scourge now wasting the nation, nor any hope or ground for a permanent peace and enduring nationality, but through a proclamation of freedom to every slave, not only as a military necessity, but in the name of humanity, and according to the laws of the living God.

7. Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting the President should make the execution of his Emancipation proclamation a paramount work of the army and navy, as the surest and speediest way of arresting the war, and establishing a just, free and permanent nationality. Every army and navy officer opposed to it should be summarily removed. All violations of it should be severely punished. The slaves should have every facility and encouragement to escape to Northern or Federal protection, and be provided as fast as possible with employment and the means of a self-support. The able-bodied men among them should be admitted to the army and and navy under the same conditions as other citizens, only with a special provision for securing them and their white officers from the recent murderous proclamation and practices of Jefferson Davis, the pretended President of a pretended Southern Confederacy. All the opportunities for intellectual, moral and spiritual culture should be opened to them, so as to fit them to become citizens and members, on the fullest equality, of a new, genuine and glorious Republic.

8. Resolved, That the interests of the thousands already emancipated, and of the millions to whom freedom is now pledged by the Federal government, call loudly for the establishment at Washington of an efficient BUREAU OF EMANCIPATION, one object of which should be to secure, by preemption of confiscated lands at the South, homesteads for the freedmen and women, the already rightful owners of the soil; and otherwise to promote their general welfare.

9. Resolved, That among the great dangers to the cause of liberty and loyalty in the country are: 1. The still deeply cherished, vulgar and cruel prejudice against color. 2. The yet lingering indifference or hostility of the leading Churches and clergy *to the doctrine of impartial freedom*, irrespective of changes in public opinion, of political expediency or military necessity. 3. The daring and defiant manifestations of sympathy with slavery and slaveholders, in both the Border and Rebel States, by Northern Legislatures and Governors, as well as prominent individual politicians and editors. 4. A determination to elevate to public favor and honor, apparently for the basest, if not most disloyal purposes, a General who has won no decisive victories, who has achieved no distinction, except in solemn pledges to the enemy to *"religiously respect all their rights, and*, WITH AN IRON ARM, *to crush every attempt at insurrection on the part of the slaves!"* and in most ingloriously sacrificing thousands of the noblest and bravest soldiers who ever took the field; and until this craven and treasonable spirit is subdued, there is little reason to hope that freedom will be given to the slaves, or long retained by those who now boast its enjoyment.

10. Resolved, That slavery, and its grim shadow, *"prejudice against color,"* have been and are the sin of this nation; and the Church and pulpit of the North, in their connivance at, their many and long apologies for, and frequent perpetrations of it, and in their present failure to recognize it as such, even under the blasting judgments of a natural and Divine retribution, and faithfully to preach *repentance* and *righteousness*, rather than "military necessity," and the *doing justice* and *loving mercy*, instead of "political expediencies," have proved themselves (with comparatively a few noble exceptions) but the faint echo of the popular voice, strangely blind, or wilfully opposed in spirit, to the great principles which underlie the government of the moral universe.

11. Resolved, That the prompt response to the President's proclamation which comes back to us from the myriad voices of many monster meetings, recently held, and still holding in Great Britain, are doubly interesting and animating to us, as revealing that the heart of that nation is beating with hostility to slavery, and was only waiting for a vigorous movement and policy on the part of our government in the direction of emancipation, to plant itself firmly and most unmistakably at its side, and extend to it a most hearty and generous sympathy.

Mr. KIMBALL addressed the Convention in favor of a modification of several of the resolutions. He objected to the third resolution, because it seemed to conditionally countenance or favor Disunion. He said the American people were devoted to the Union, and it was wrong at this time to speak against, or even disparagingly of what was so dear to their hearts. He hated slavery, but he loved the Union, which his ancestors had perilled their lives to found, and which his kindred and friends were now fighting to preserve. We must contend against slavery, but for the Union. It would only exasperate the popular mind to publish such sentiments at this time. It would injure the anti-slavery cause, so near the hearts of all present. Mr. K. also suggested verbal alterations in the sixth and seventh resolutions, and emphatically dissented from the eighth and ninth. The Christian Church had not perhaps done its whole duty in every respect, but no one could deny that it was the bulwark of the anti-slavery cause. He moved that the resolutions be referred back to the Committee with instructions to amend as suggested. Unless such amendments were adopted, he should be compelled to vote against the resolutions.

Mr. PEPPER, of Albany, thought recruiting offices for the enlistment of colored soldiers should be opened. This Convention should not adjourn without taking action upon that subject.

An earnest discussion here followed upon the resolutions which referred to the Churches. It was participated in by Mr. MCGOWN, of Albany, who was in favor of a modification, Dr. PERKINS, of Albany, who spoke in favor of the resolutions, by Mr. TIBBETTS, of Albany, Messrs. POWELL and PILLSBURY, Hon. GERRIT SMITH and Rev. Mr. FULTON.

Hon. GERRIT SMITH spoke ably in favor of the resolutions. He thought they were right in every respect. He said that there seemed to be some misapprehension of the great object of such Conventions as this. That object is not to have its resolutions and proceedings such as will attract, and bring into sympathy with it a large portion of the community, or even of the professed anti-slavery people, most of whom are very superficial, if not indeed merely nominal, in their anti-slavery. But that object is to enunciate great fundamental principles; to speak the words of absolute rectitude; and inculcate the highest lessons of the hour. We are not bound to make so much as one convert, but we are bound to tell the truth.

We have been reminded here of our duty to fall in with and commend the deliverance of the slave as a measure of military necessity. It is well that we should be reminded of it. But our far higher duty is to urge his deliverance under the claims of justice.

I like the resolutions. The hearing of them refreshed and strengthened me. There are no vulgar nor "venomous" words in them. The resolution now under consideration is not only true, but beautiful and sublime.

Mr. Smith took exception to the Rev. Mr. Fulton's view of Christ. He tells us that Christ is his chief. I wish to regard him as my chief, and to be right loyal to him. But Mr. Fulton says that he puts Christ above abolition. I do not. I identify the principles of Christ with Christ, and put them and him on the same level. I honor and love him as the impersonation of his principles. In his Spirit and life I realize my highest conceptions of the beauty and power and value of those principles. Mr. Fulton tells us of his preaching Christ before preaching these principles. The thing is not possible. The true Christ cannot be preached in advance of his principles. The one is preached just as fast and as far as the other is preached.

Mr. PILLSBURY said the Churches of Albany could certainly claim no exception. The Division street Unitarian Society had refused us their church this very year, so we are told, though famed for its liberal opinions. He saw no reason for modifying the resolution in favor of Albany Churches. He thought the Church as a body was yet unsound. He cited the example of Dr. Cheever as one who, though orthodox in religious matters, was persecuted for his stern anti-slavery principles.

Rev. Mr. FULTON said he was pleased with the remarks of Mr. Smith and Mr. Pillsbury, and he did not care how much they belabored the Churches of Albany on the slavery question. He said the Churches were not sound on this issue. He spoke at length in regard to the anti-slavery feeling of Albany and the country, and declared his purpose to fight for humanity to the end.

Rev. Mr. MILES spoke severely against slavery, and said he hoped to live to preach its funeral sermon.

Adjourned till 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.—The PRESIDENT in the chair.

The resolutions were again read by Mr. PILLSBURY.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY spoke briefly of the disregard of the majority rule, both by the rebels at the South, and their Fernando Wood allies in the North. This on account of slavery.

PARKER PILLSBURY then addressed the Convention at length in support of the resolutions. He said it was not might or power by which the greatest achievements were gained. John Brown, with five and twenty men—part of them blacks—held Virginia, because inspired by a divine principle, and would have held it to this day but for Federal marines. The Church does not know the power of truth and the omnipotence of right. Moral power is stronger than physical force however thickly clad and mailed. The Church was as blind as the government. God himself had come, and He had come to make it known and felt that there is a God in Israel.

The anti-slavery enterprise has had to make its way in spite of the Church, which for thirty years had defended and upheld slavery, abusing its own members and ministers when they were Abolitionists.

After some additional discussion of the resolutions by Messrs. MCGOWN, KIMBALL, Dr. PERKINS and Mr. PILLSBURY, the Convention adjourned to Thursday afternoon.

THURSDAY.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

Miss ANTHONY read the following letter from Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON:

BROOKLYN, 24th Feb.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY—*Dear Friend:* In our present national struggle, the one difficulty that meets us on all sides is the seeming ignorance of our leading minds of the first principles of justice, and a want of faith in those who do see clearly, to proclaim and demand what they know is right.

Through your Convention, I would send forth an appeal to the women of this nation, to begin the work that legitimately belongs to the matrons of the future republic, which is to rise in glory on the downfall of this despotism, when from the ashes of a rotten aristocracy of caste and color, shall grow up a government in which individual rights shall be held sacred, and the true dignity of manhood and labor be represented and maintained.

The women of a nation mould its morals, religion and politics, and if, in the midst of forms and fashions, they lose sight of the immutable principles of right—substitute pleasure for duty, intrigue for fair demand, a sentimental theology for justice and mercy, man's codes and Constitutions for the laws of God—they stamp a race of men—lovers of ease—victims of custom—whose polar star is success at any price of humanity, or principle, who have neither the will, or the wish, to battle wrong in high places, and are incapable of standing alone to defend the right. The wheel of civilization has rolled us to the age of justice. For Priest and Politician the time is passed. No magician can lead the masses now. If delaring the truth breaks up parties and Churches, the faster they crumble the better, and leave the masses free to such inspiration as all earnest souls can draw from the only source of light and truth. Away with art and management. We have had too much of it, in the family and the State. What is right let us do by straightforward means—debate, discuss and battle it out. Intrigue is no part of a high-toned moral character or nation. Justice needs no diplomacy, but a holy zeal to set forth its claims and excellence. It is our mission to go behind man's codes and canons, and teach the race to know and do the right. Every American should appreciate the peculiar blessings of a republican form of government, and the philosophy of its seeming difficulties. I have been surprised to hear many, to whom I looked for higher wisdom, say, at this crisis, "Well, democracy is a failure," give me "the despot and the dagger." We have not yet tried the experiment of a pure democracy. Our fathers had a vision of the sublime idea, but it is left for us to build it up into a living reality. What is true in the family is true in the nation. Where there is an iron rule in the household, one will to govern, from which there is no appeal, the head, ignorant of the nature and wants of the weaker members, moulds all to his wishes, everything may move smoothly on, there is no appeal from any order or decision—nothing is open to debate, and to the superficial observer it is a charming household—so quiet, so orderly and respectful. Just so with the despotism of the Old World. Our snobs always come home delighted with European aristocracies, where the lower classes are so humble and obsequious, meekly accepting the traditions of their fathers, and the places assigned them by God. Now, go into a household where individual rights are recognized, where every order, decision, demand and petition is subject to debate and appeal—where the special wants and wishes of husband, wife, children and servants are all recognized, there must needs be more noise, friction, discussion than in the household where individual right and judgment are entirely ignored. But where do you get the best condition of character, the men and women of thought and principle, who go before the people and bear up the ark of the Lord in the wilderness? Most assuredly in the atmosphere of freedom. There is no government on the globe equal to our own. Nowhere can the experiment of a pure democracy be so easily tried as on this continent. Lay aside, for a time at least, women of the new-born nation, all arts and accomplishments, and study the science of government. How can we teach our sons the sacredness of human rights, or the peculiar excellence of republican institutions, unless we ourselves appreciate the priceless heritage secured to us in 1776? There is no birthright for our children like freedom of person, thought and speech. What are palace homes, jewels, dress and equipage—what the highest positions of family, fame, or circles of fashion and refinement, to the blessings of liberty, which in a republic the humblest digger in the ditch shares equally with the richest in the land?

Can the daughters of Washington, Jefferson, Hancock and Adams make no higher boast than to have bred men who in the nineteenth century would found a nation whose corner-stone is slavery? A system which degrades not the African race alone, by denying to him the rights of citizenship, but sets at naught every one of the ten commandments delivered on Sinai, and saps the foundations of all national virtue and strength, by a wholesale desecration of womanhood, in blotting out the family relation. It is bad enough to have slavery toasted in New Orleans and Charleston, by men who sell their own children, but when Northern freemen, born under the shadow of Bunker Hill, among our mighty lakes and rivers, or in the sound of Niagara's roar, can echo back such treason against man and God, it is enough to make us blush with shame, that caitiffs base as these should look a Northern woman in the face and call her wife or mother.

In the upheaving of a nation's social and political institutions, there is a mighty power for self-adjustment, if every woman stands true to principle, firmly resting on the promise of God that righteousness exalteth a nation.

Yours sincerely, E. CADY STANTON.

AARON M. POWELL, from the Business Committee, reported a resolution proposing a Bureau of Emancipation, and that from the confiscated lands homesteads be preëmpted for the freedmen. He said: It is a new and encouraging fact that there are now thousands of freedmen, hitherto our clients in slavery, to be provided for. We see the effect of a persistent application of truth to an error. Slavery has been bolstered up by the combined powers of Church and State, and yet it is falling. The charge that Abolitionists are the cause of the war is an acknowledgment of their wisdom and justice. Of those who have been opposed to interfering with slavery where it is, many have now reached the point of demanding emancipation as a military necessity, and they must yet ask for it as a necessity of justice. The proclamation has emancipated thousands at the North. The method of Abolitionists has been to arraign all classes that apologize for slavery. They have not accommodated themselves to the intermediate classes. These we always invite to come to us. We must advocate absolute right, and if it takes us out of a party or a Church, we shall be stronger alone. If this country be saved from utter ruin, it must be by the statesmanship of abolitionism, which is based upon justice and impartial freedom.

THEODORE TILTON of New York delivered an eloquent address before the Convention in favor of supporting the government and standing by the proclamation of Emancipation, after which the meeting adjourned till 7½ p.m.

EVENING SESSION.—The PRESIDENT in the chair. The resolutions before the Convention were again read.

Mr. TILTON spoke eloquently in vindication of the colored race. We regret that we cannot give in full his earnest address. He said we have one thing to be ashamed of as American citizens, and against this the resolutions bear. At first we thought the South would not venture a war against the government. We said: "We have slavery to turn against them." When the South learned that Mr. Lincoln would not take the slaves, their anxiety vanished. McClellan's first act was to throw to the enemy the element of strength. Dupont's action was a defeat, because the slaves that flocked to the flag were driven back. A fearful responsibility rests upon the government for failing to recognize and use the power of slavery turned against the oppressor. Mr. Lincoln himself said in an Illinois speech, "Our reliance must be in a love for liberty." We ask for the liberty of the black man because he is a man.

He spoke at length and with deep feeling of the position of colored people in this country; of the sinfulness of the prejudice against them; of their rich musical and religious natures, and said that with the death of slavery will pass away the hatred towards them. He closed with the hope that the North and South may yet be married into one government, in which all shall be free; a Union in which shall be permanent peace.

Mr. PILLSBURY said he had painful apprehensions as to the condition of public affairs at this time. He knew of no prejudice so cruel, unjust and vulgar as that against color. He thought the nation would be saved, if saved at all, by the negro. The blasphemous irony of the New York *Herald* for the last twenty years about the "Almighty Nigger" is now made a truth by the God of justice. The negro is almighty to save or destroy our nation. We must repent if we would be saved. But who preaches repentance? He had suggested to Wendell Phillips, who was to deliver his lecture on the "Lost Arts," that it would be well to modernize it as much as possible, and include in the "Lost Arts" Repentance. What Church goes out into the highways to gather in the black men, women and children to the Church and Sabbath-school? If we keep the law of God, we may expect salvation as a nation; if we break that law, we must perish, in spite of all atonements.

Mr. KIMBALL moved to strike out the third resolution, which he thought indirectly sanctioned disunion, and offered a substitute, which, however, was not adopted.

Mr. MCGOWN moved to strike out that part of the 8th resolution which censured the Churches. The motion was lost.

After a brief discussion, the resolutions as a series were adopted.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

L. MOTT, *President*.

S. C. KIMBALL, E. M. POWELL, } *Secretaries*.

The Finance Committee of the Convention acknowledge from

Hon. Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, N. Y.	$50 00
Dr. Perkins, Albany, "	3 00
George E. Baker, Washington, D. C.	1 00
Contributions,	22 21

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.—[*Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia.*]—*Second mo. 24th*, 1863.—I regretted exceedingly that I could not get to hear Mr. Frothingham on First day last. I hear he preached most eloquently His sermon on "The Birth of the Spirit of Christ," lately published, is one of the best sermons I ever heard. Quaker doctrine thoroughly. I have given all but one—*that* one is on loan all the time. It seems to have the proper estimate in the minds of all to whom I have given them. I only regret that I have not a few more. He is destined to be *the* Unitarian preacher of this country. I love the spirit of that man. I guess the Heavenly Father will continue to direct him. It seems to me, to use an old Quaker expression, that he *grows* in the gift of the ministry. S. H. P.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1863.

There has been unquestionably an attempt made within a month by men standing very high before the American people to coax the President into a practical abandonment of his policy of military emancipation. I think I can add that it has entirely failed—certainly it has up to the present moment. But that an organized attempt (I might call it a conspiracy) against the policy adopted by the President last Autumn has been made I have no doubt. Mr. Thurlow Weed is one of the gentlemen engaged in it, but he is the least respectable of the conservative wire-pullers engaged in the scheme, though he is the most adroit of all. One or two Governors were mixed up in the matter, and at least a dozen Congressmen were cognizant of what was going on. One of the first steps taken was to see if it were not possible to get Gen. Halleck out of the way and put Gen. McClellan in his place. It is no secret, I suppose, that Mr. Seward and Mr. Weed have been for months very desirous that Gen. McClellan should have a command. One or two prominent Republican journals were privy to the movement, and they urged very zealously the propriety of giving "a command" to McClellan. With a good deal of shrewdness they avoided saying a word respecting *the* command which, in their opinion, should be given to McClellan. They knew well enough that if it were once admitted that the Chief of the do-nothing Generals should again be put into active service, there could be but two places which the government could offer him—his old command, or the place now occupied by Halleck. Now, it would not be a bad idea to get rid of the present General-in-Chief. He is an old fogy at best, and is by nature and habit pro-slavery and pro everything that is at once respectable and wicked. He has offended nearly every Republican Congressman who has come near him this Winter. Nearly all the Generals hate him, and it would be easy enough to bring an immense influence to bear against him. But when the question was understood to be not one simply involving the removal of Halleck, but the substitution of McClellan for Halleck—Halleck was safe enough! Mr. Lincoln has no idea of going back to McClellanism after the experience of the last eighteen months. The project could not be made to work. The President is weak in some things, is wavering, vacillating, often enough, but once beat an idea into his brain and it does not slip out in a day or a year. Abraham Lincoln is not a fool, and he has taken the measure of George B. McClellan. No matter what the newspapers may say about the matter, though they announce it as an accomplished fact, never fear that Gen. McClellan will be put at the head of a great army again!

But the talk about putting McClellan in Halleck's place has stimulated the enemies of the last named General to get him out of his place and Ben. Butler into it. It is rumored to-day that there is a strong prospect that this will be done, but I am faithless on that point. Mr. Lincoln is averse to change, and especially to the removal of persons around him and with whom he is closely connected by official ties. He will hardly consent to the removal of Halleck. When the demand for the removal of Stanton from the War Department was terrific he would not listen to it, and he will not hear the less positive demand for the removal of Gen. Halleck. This is a good trait in Mr. Lincoln's character—he sticks to his friends through evil as well as good report. It is probable that no further change will be made in his Cabinet during the Presidential term. There is a sort of harmony between its members at last, and they will get along together without quarrelling.

The debates in Congress during the past week have been interesting. Passages will be memorable. As the Congress nears its end the rebels in it grow more and more bold. Notice this passage from Henry May's speech of the other evening, delivered in a bold and impassioned style:

"Mr. Speaker, Maryland, though now prostrate, will again rise. When passion and brute force shall have passed away or be driven from her soil, and the benign genius of free government returns again to preside over her destinies, then her own people, if united and organized, will be able themselves to determine her lot. Let them be assured of this, *and also be prepared. And then, also, comes a retribution.* And while we may hope that her faithless children who have stood indifferent to her fate may be forgiven, yet, sir, they must be forgotten; *but those self-abasing wretches who, with parricidal hands, have helped to strike their own State's sovereignty down, shall rest in the full assurance of that day of account that must come in the sure providence of God.* And, sir, instructed by the language of the present Secretary of State, addressed to my constituents in a lecture delivered by him on the 22d of December, 1848, 'if a separation from the Union shall ever be necessary, let us hope that long habits of discipline and mutual affection may enable the American people to add another and final lesson on the excellence of republics—*that of dividing without violence, and reconstructing without the loss of liberty.*' Heaven grant that such may be the happy destiny of Maryland."

The closing sentences were perhaps a fair hit at Mr. Seward, certainly a hard one. There was one paragraph in the speech which gave evidence that the government is a terror to evil-doers in the District of Columbia as well as in the State of Maryland. Says Mr. May:

"Sir, our slaves are enticed into camps or hospitals established all over the State, and there enforced to remain by 'military protection

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 2d, 1863.

WE don't differ, Mr. Editor, and your reference to this correspondence calls for no rejoinder.

You have accustomed us to such sound, clear, self-commending views, that we have become exacting, and now demand that there shall not be the slightest departure from the statesman-like wisdom which distinguishes your articles from those of the common herd of politico-moral writers. Even a suspicion of deflection, you see, occasions us disturbance.

You say: "We have endeavored to look at public events and public men in the light and with the eyes that a slave would regard them who possessed the degree of intelligence, natural and acquired, which we happen to have." This is a good rule. I only know one that is better; that is, to look at public events and public men with your own eyes. As one of your readers, I greatly prefer the results you bring us from the use of your own visuals to any that bear the marks of having been gleaned through those of others. Make what use you please of the organs of the hypothetical person your imagination conjures up, but when you come to report in THE STANDARD, tell us, I beg you, only what you see with your own.

In my last I advised Abolitionists, having leisure and other requisites, to go to Washington, and there seek by personal influence to affect favorably the action of government. I was not discouraged from so doing by the fact that your Philadelphia Correspondent had made several attempts in this line without any visible results. As the history of his efforts may serve to throw some light on this subject, or if not, in some other way to be of use, I propose to give it to you. The facts were as follows:

Last Summer your correspondent went to South Carolina on a tour of observation. His mission was to the liberated blacks, and pertained to the workings of freedom. On the subject of slavery he thought he had nothing to learn. An Abolitionist of thirty years' standing, he supposed that he knew the length and breadth and deepest depths of the system's atrocities. But he found that he had been mistaken; that there was yet a deeper depth which his imagination had never fathomed. He saw sights, heard statements, and was confronted with facts which thrilled him with horror. He had fancied that the iniquity of the system, gross and appalling, inherent and universal, as he knew it to be—had nevertheless a limit beyond which all additional diabolism was exceptional. That is, that inhuman as he knew slavery to be in its essential nature and actual workings, still, man being man and not a devil, and woman being *woman* and not a she-wolf, he fancied that even among slaveholders humanity would assert its natural predominance. But he was compelled by testimony which he did not seek, and from which he could not escape, to reverse his judgment, and adopt the conclusion which he now holds: that in South Carolina, and wherever else the system exists under similar conditions, *cruelty is the rule and humanity the exception.* This is and must be so as a matter of necessity. Continued and systematic infliction is essential to the safe maintenance of the system. In regions where slaves are so much more numerous than the whites, they must be kept under cow, and dehumanized to the greatest possible extent, consistent with their value as property. The conduct of their owners and overseers must not be governed by any regard for their feelings, bodily or mental. They must be held, in fact, as they are in law, "*pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus.* The discipline of the plantation, of the quarters, of the nursery, like the statutes of the code, must be and is inspired by an all-pervading fear. Continued infliction, therefore, is indispensable to a sense of security. The first and last necessity of the system is that the blacks should be kept under. This makes every white man a tyrant, and converts the gentlest natures into the most cruel. In women the struggle is between natural timidity and inborn goodness; a struggle in which the former is sure to obtain the ascendancy. This reached —*væ victis!* When the milk of human kindness dries up in the breast of woman, a bear robbed of her whelps is scarcely more implacable. A woman once fairly taken possession of by the three demons of Fear, Jealousy and Conjugal Hate, is capable of deeds which nothing but acquaintance with slave-life in the South can make credible. Your correspondent found that the most cruel tyrants in that region—so far as it came under his purview—were women; *ladies*, including in their number some of the very F-est of the F. F.'s of the Palmetto State. The men, especially the overseers, were the most brutal; but in refined and devilish cruelty the women bore the palm.

Your correspondent came to the conclusion that the horrors of slavery had never been divulged; and that on ordinary testimony they were absolutely incredible. He recalled to mind the words of Hon. B. Swain of North Carolina, contained in a speech which he had read 25 years before; words which had imprinted themselves indelibly upon his memory: "*The worst is not generally known. Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm.*"

Conversing with Gen. Hunter on the subject, your correspondent said: "General, I shall not dare to tell the people of Philadelphia what I have seen and what I believe as to the character of slavery. They would not believe me, and it would only be impairing my credibility on the subject of the freed blacks in regard to whom they expect me to testify. Why, General, Mrs. Stowe's Legree was a humane man in comparison with Dan Pope, on whose father's plantation I am now stopping. And the Spanish inquisition was a beneficent institution in comparison with that of American slavery." The General bowed a profound assent. "Let me tell you what I mean to do. When I return to the North, I will hasten at once to Washington, and there ask Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens to procure, if possible, the appointment of a joint Committee of investigation, whose business it shall be to visit South Carolina and other States in rebellion, and inquire into the nature of this system, which has involved us in a bloody civil war, and which threatens to plunge us into equally bloody contests with other nations. The report of such a committee would be a great desideratum, and if published to the world would, at the present conjuncture, be of incalculable value to the government. The statements of a private individual—how good soever may have been his character for veracity—would never be believed." "You are right," said the General, "and you could not do a better thing. Such a report is greatly needed at home and abroad."

Your correspondent returned to the North, but a press of other duties, added to the fact that Congress was on the point of adjournment, prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He did not give it up, however, but this Winter, soon after the opening of the session, went to Washington and conferred with prominent friends of the government on the subject. He represented the fitness of such an inquiry, in itself considered, and its expediency as a means of strengthening the Administration. There was no official information, he said; no duly authenticated testimony before the country and the world as to the character of American slavery. No party, no sect, no Administration, State or Federal, had ever dared to raise a formal nquiry into its nature. The testimony in regard to it was conflicting. Wm. Lloyd Garrison said it was an evil. Rev. Dr. Adams said it was a good. In the Senate, in the House, in New York, in London, in Paris and Vienna there was the same conflict of opinion. In London, the partisans of the system—judging from results—seemed to have the best of the argument. Messrs. Mason, Yancey, Moorehead and Dudley Mann were there to affirm on their "honor as gentlemen" that the representations made by Abolitionists were false, and that the "institution" was a patriarchal and beneficent one, and the aristocratic circles, to whom they addressed themselves—only too ready to be convinced—received with unquestioning credulity their unscrupulous assurances. Now, what was needed—your correspondent urged—was the appointment, under the authority of the government, of an official commission, whose business it should be to inquire into the subject and report to the world the facts. Such a report, he insisted, could not fail to be of service, both to the country and to humanity.

"I can readily understand," said Thaddeus Stevens, "that a report of this kind would be of great service. Let Mr. Sumner—who he knew was favorable—have a resolution for the appointment of a joint committee of the Senate and House, passed by his branch, and I will see that it is put through the House at once." Other members expressed their hearty approval and readiness to cooperate. Among them were Messrs. Hickman, Bingham, Morris Davis, Kelly, Campbell, Casey of Kentucky, Lovejoy; in fact everybody without an exception who had been spoken to on the subject. Measures were taken to have the matter attended to, and your correspondent came home, expecting to hear soon after his arrival of the appointment of the committee. In a few days he received a letter stating that the matter had been brought before a leading member of the Cabinet, who was favorably impressed, but who thought an Executive Commission, composed of persons not members of Congress, would be better than a joint Committee. He proposed, therefore—as the matter seemed to come within the range of his department—to appoint a commission of three of the most distinguished loyal men he could find, taking them from different parts of the country. Such three he selected and named; but the first one—an eminent octogenarian of this city—declined, and without taking further steps the matter was allowed to fall through.

Some weeks afterwards your correspondent revisited Washington to see if the thing could not be revived. He was introduced by a Senator who had before favored the object to the member of the Cabinet referred to, whom he found ready to appoint the commission at once. "Give me a list of suitable names," said he, addressing himself to the Senator, "and I will make out the order in five minutes." At the Senator's instance, your correspondent mentioned the names of several parties in Philadelphia. Two of these were lawyers, not in practice, and the two others—there were four of them—merchants. "Either of these gentlemen," said the Secretary, "will be entirely acceptable to me." Not doubting that one or other of them would consent to act, your correspondent returned home satisfied that his object had at last been accomplished. Unfortunately, however, neither of the parties named could make it suit to accept. They either could not leave their business or were otherwise hindered. Your correspondent did not feel at liberty to go any further in the matter, as the invitation to present a "list of suitable names" had not been addressed to him. So the thing broke down a second time; and there, it would seem, it remains. Whose fault it was, or whether or not it was anybody's fault, does not appear; but for the present the whole project seems to be abandoned.

Mr. Editor, I cannot but think that parties having the "weight of actual power" in this matter have made a grave mistake. The appointment of a Commission such as has been described seems to me to be a measure demanded alike by the decencies of legislation and the exigencies of the government. The whole and only question at issue in this war is slavery. In the Cabinet, on the field, in the political arena, everywhere the controversy turns upon this pivot. But on this issue—the nature and tendencies of slavery—the nation officially knows absolutely nothing. There is no testimony before the court. There is nothing on record. The most revolutionary executive and legislative measures are adopted—measures costing the nation hundreds of millions of dollars, all of them relating to slavery—some of them for the abolition of slavery, and yet there is not one particle of proof before the government that the system is not what Mr. Wickliffe and Mr. Carlile represent it to be—a beneficent and needful institution. There has been no inquiry, and of course no report; nor does the government, in its sweeping measures for the overthrow of the system, allege any other reason whatever than that of "military necessity." Surely such is not the course to be pursued by a dignified nation, claiming as it does, of right, an equal place among the powers of the earth.

In England, every step taken, first toward the abolition of the slave trade, and next toward the overthrow of slavery itself, was preceded by careful inquiry on the part of Parliamentary Committees. When France was a republic, in 1795, the National Convention raised a Commission to inquire into the troubles of St. Domingo. They made a voluminous report, tracing all the difficulties of the island to slavery. It was drawn up by M. Garron-Coulon, and remains to this day a text-book on slavery in the West Indies, and a guide to French legislation on the subject.

But not only Parliamentary usage, but the exigencies of the situation demand an inquiry such as is here indicated. The result of such an inquiry, republished in England, would give a powerful impetus to the reaction now happily going on there in our favor. London has from the beginning been the stronghold of the rebellion. The hopes of recognition which have buoyed up the conspirators have come from there. The subsidies which have given them food, clothes, arms, ammunition—everything, in fact, needful to keep them alive, have come from the same source. It has been of supreme importance to our government that this stronghold should be captured. But this was not to be done by siege guns or mechanical appliances. Argument, reason, were the only means adequate. The most plausible and astute emissaries of the Confederates were there, and had been there in advance. They had had the run of society, access to the clubs, the ear of the organs of opinion, and the use, in short, of all the best means of manufacturing public sentiment. Whom had we there to head them off? Thurlow Weed! Archbishop Hughes! Bishop McIlvaine! and God knows what other political hacks, religious jesuits, or fossilized fogies, whose only fitness is to do harm instead of good on the very point where service is needed. To be sure, there was Mr. Adams, our Minister, but it was not his duty to follow these lying intriguers through their devious ways. The thing needed was—in the absence of suitable men—the presence of suitable publications; such an one especially as would have been a report on the nature of American slavery, bearing the imprint and seal of the United States government. A publication of this character, thrown into the busy centres of London, would have been a bomb-shell among the sympathizers, blowing them sky-high, and scattering to the winds all their specious webs of pro-slavery falsehood. George Thompson, John Bright, Wm. Forster, and other friends of our country there, would have welcomed it as a deodand. It would have been to them, like the ship laden with food for the starving operatives of Lancashire, one of the most opportune auxiliaries that could have been possibly sent them.

A report of this kind would have been, and would still be, equally useful here at home. What the people need, to put them in harmony with the Administration on this subject, are facts. This is a sort of argument they can understand. A few years ago, when Missouri Border-ruffianism was in question, the Kansas Investigating Committee settled the controversy by a volume of facts. When, some twelve or eighteen months ago, the rebels were charged with barbarism in their mode of warfare, and a dispute arose upon the subject, Mr. Sumner had a Committee appointed to inquire into the facts. The Committee reported that the secessionist soldiers had made drinking cups out of Union men's skulls, and ladies' finger-rings out of other parts of the Yankee skeleton. The people were horrified at such atrocities, and good was done to the cause of the government by the discredit thus thrown upon the rebel arms. But these atrocities were as the small dust in the balance compared with those of daily and hourly occurrence under the reign of slavery. And this would be discerned by the report of an investigating committee.

In England, a few years ago, it was the way in certain circles to apologize for the Neapolitan government and sneer at Garibaldi; but the facts made known by Mr. Gladstone in his semi-official speech on the subject in Parliament, produced an entire revolution in English opinion; a revolution that was followed by the overthrow of King Bomba, and the exaltation of the despised republican as one of the greatest modern heroes.

It was not Mirabeau's eloquence so much as the disclosures made by the overthrow of the Bastile that first precipitated and afterwards justified the French revolution. The Protestant reformation at this moment stands more, in the popular mind, upon Fox's Book of Martyrs than upon any other volume extant.

And, Mr. Editor, Mr. Lincoln's Administration, especially his sweeping measures for the "abolishment" of slavery, will stand hereafter, not on any pretext, real or imagined, of "military necessity," but upon the proven abominations of our slave system; a system always repugnant to the people's moral sense, at last made intolerable, by the no longer to be endured assumptions of its supporters and advocates.

If our rulers were as wise as they might be, they would never for a moment forget that in a war of ideas like this, the forces most to be relied upon are not mechanical. Armstrong guns and Springfield rifles are potent engines in their way, but, except indirectly, they are of no use whatever against the strongholds of the rebellion in the North and in London and Paris. The weapons here required are of the kind that is impalpable. In this field—vastly the most important—it is not the science of engineering and gunnery that is needed, but a masterly knowledge of *moral dynamics.*

Our friends in the East are calling for a Bureau of Emancipation. This is well. Something of the kind is a necessity, and will be sure to come. The appointment of a Commission to inquire into and report on the subject of slavery, would have been a step toward its realization, especially as the Secretary said he would "constitute it *with the amplest powers.*"

My letter is unconscionably long, but I cannot close it without a word in correction of an error into which I was inadvertently led in my last concerning the "Committee of the Society of Friends." The errand of this Committee, it appears, had no reference to the "free blacks" whatever; its object was to secure immunity for members of the Society from the operation of the State Militia law. And it is not the fact that the Committee returned "encouraged" as to the success of their mission; quite the contrary, it is said. Is not this as it should be? Why should people who enjoy and exercise all the franchises of the government, not share equally with others in its burdens?

M.

COPPERHEAD DEMOCRACY ILLUSTRATED.

THE following petition was presented in the New York Assembly, not many days ago, by Mr. Hutchings, one of the Democratic representatives of this city:

To the Honorable the Legislature of New York.

Your memorialists, citizens of the State of New York, respectfully represent that: Whereas, the present Union of the States, unlike that formed under the articles of Confederation, was not declared in terms to be perpetual, but was conditional, as to duration dependent upon the good faith of each of the contracting States; and that among other things at the time of the formation of such "more perfect Union" there was an implied covenant in the Constitution of the United States of America, as a condition precedent of such union, to maintain the then status of the negro in the State of New York, which was that of a slave to the white man; and,

Whereas, Since the formation of said Union, the Legislature has by an act thereof abolished negro slavery in said State, and passed certain other acts changing the social and political condition of the negro in the State of New York, and impairing the value of slave property not only in the said State, but in States where slavery still exists, to the great peril of the said Union;

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to repeal all laws or parts of laws changing the status or impairing the value of the negro slave, either in the State of New York or any at present slave State of the Union, and to provide for any necessary change in the Constitution of the State of New York for the accomplishment of such purpose. And, as in duty bound, your memorialists will forever pray, etc.—Dated Jan 1, 1863.

ANDREW J. McMANUS, New York.
JOSEPH DUFF, New York.
CHARLES I. SIREY, Kings County.
PETER J. McMANUS, New York City.
ISAAC WELLS, New York City.
TIMOTHY B. McEVOY, New York City.
JAMES O. HAVE, New York City.
JOHN McENY, New York City.
P. S. BRADY, New York City.
JAMES FITZPATRICK.
JOHN MORGAN, Westchester County.
HENRY L. WRIGHT, New York.
HEZEKIAH TUTHILL, Orange County.
RICHARD KING, No. 156 Broome street.
E. PRICE, New York.
JOHN M. DEVOY, No. 27 Suffolk st., New York.
JAMES P. DEVOY, No. 27 Suffolk st., New York.
THOMAS LAWRENCE, of Rockland County.
NELSON PUFF, New York City.
G. W. HUNGERFORD, Brooklyn.
DANIEL BOWLY, New York City.
WILLIAM TUCKER, New York City.
WILLIAM HILL, Brooklyn.

It may be safely assumed that every one of the above signers is a member, in full communion, of the Democratic party, and anxious for peace on terms which shall make the slaveholding rebels the masters of the country. In thus openly asking for the re-establishment of slavery in the Empire State, they are less politic than the leaders of their party, who deem it necessary, for the present, to mask their treachery and disloyalty under fair-seeming professions of regard for popular rights. Their petition, disgraceful as it is in its object, may do good by reminding the people of the free States that the alternative before them is, the abolition of slavery at the South or the re-establishment of slavery at the North. There neither is nor can be any middle ground. "Liberty for all, or chains for all!"

CONCERT FOR THE FREEDMEN AT WORCESTER.

WORCESTER, Feb. 24, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THIS city was excited and interested so deeply last evening by an occasion of a somewhat unusual kind with us that we think a brief account of it will be pleasant to the readers of THE STANDARD, and we know its object will find favor in their eyes.

One of the most respected ladies of this city, who, in spite of considerably advanced age, has been a diligent and constant worker in behalf of the soldiers of our army, whether in camp or hospital, ever since the war broke out, and whose example and persuasion have moved many others to charitable deeds, had resolved to make an attempt to contribute, herself, and to induce the people of Worcester and its vicinity to contribute, some effectual aid in behalf of the recently freed slaves of the country. You may be surprised to hear that even here, in Worcester County and the heart of Massachusetts, no small opposition to an effort, in behalf of these neediest of the needy, forthwith manifested itself; and you would be still more surprised if I should tell you of the frivolous pretexts and flimsy reasons urged for the opposition. But as they have all been scattered, and have utterly disappeared, we may leave them undisturbed. Associated with the lady referred to were a number of others who, by social position and elevated character, could not fail to give great aid to any cause they might seek to promote.

The particular form chosen for the occasion was a *Promenade Concert in Costume*, with opportunity for a little dancing at the close. The large MECHANICS' HALL was engaged, and the evening of Washington's birthday (observed this year on Monday, 23d) was selected as a fitting time. As we entered the Hall, about eight o'clock, we received indubitable proofs that all the endeavors put forth to nullify the occasion had acted the rather as its allies and auxiliaries; the vast hall floor being covered with promenaders, a large proportion of whom were in fancy-dresses of every description, antique, Jewish, mediæval, Chinese, Continental, Louis XIV., Quaker, peasant girls, flower girls, etc., etc., beyond my ability to tell you, and the spacious galleries (as well as the sides of the Hall below) crowded with interested spectators. As one new character after another appeared, applause from the galleries testified to the good taste and skill displayed. I shall not undertake to particularize characters; they were far too many and various for that, but only say that many of them were admirably sustained. As we met the representatives of all denominations, parties, and classes of society, it was most cheering as well as beautiful to witness their union in behalf of the needy freedmen, and to reflect that this long-postponed and dreaded cause had asserted its just and rightful claims at last in so many hearts. The great assembly seemed well pleased when, at half past nine, the promenading gave way to the graceful and beautiful dance. Time passes quickly, and we were called to witness an exhibition of Mrs. Jarley's wax-work figures (astonishing characters personated by several young gentlemen and ladies of Worcester), and great merriment was caused by the same. But the most interesting feature (to some present) of the occasion was yet in store, and proved as much a surprise to the managers as to any of the guests. At about ten o'clock it was reported in the Hall that Maj.-Gen. B. F. Butler was at one of the hotels of the city, and that a deputation had gone to wait upon him, and invite him to the Hall. After a brief delay it was announced from the platform that Gen. Butler had accepted the invitation and would soon be with us. Punctually to the time fixed he came, and was received with general cheering. All other occupation was suspended, and the eager multitude gathered around the platform to which Gen. and Mrs. Butler had been conducted. The cheers continued, and the General bowed his thanks. A "speech" was loudly called for. In a few words he said he had not come to make a speech, but could not refuse the kind and urgent request, which had been made to him as he was passing through the city, to come among them for a short time. He had seldom seen, he said, a more beautiful sight than that which met his eyes as he entered the Hall; and he could not find it in him to delay or interrupt their festivity by protracted remarks. And well, he said, may you rejoice and be happy, when assembled in behalf of the good cause which has drawn you hither, "for it is the cause of right." He closed with thanking them all for the kind welcome and reception they had given him. He then, with his party, walked around the Hall, passing in review the large and beautifully-attired company; and withdrew amidst loud cheering; an episode in the evening's entertainment not less pleasant, than unexpected on all hands.

And so prosperously, hopefully, and most satisfactorily, the evening wore away. Exactly at 12 o'clock the music ceased, and the Hall was quickly cleared. We cannot doubt that the result of the effort will be a very handsome addition to the funds for the relief of the new Freedmen of the South.

O. P. Q.

MR. WELD IN PHILADELPHIA.—We invite the attention of our readers in Philadelphia to the announcement, in another column, of two lectures, to be delivered in that city by Theodore D. Weld, on Sunday and Monday evenings next. Twenty-five years ago, Mr. Weld, who was then very widely known, had a reputation for eloquence higher than that enjoyed by any of his cotemporaries. His vocal organs becoming impaired, he was compelled to suspend public speaking, and it is only within the last few months that he has ventured to resume the occupation of a lecturer. He has spoken much of late in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, delighting and instructing all who have heard him. His great powers are still unimpaired, and we assure our Philadelphia friends that they ought not, for their own sakes, to miss the opportunity of hearing him.

We learn that the reason for taking a hall for Mr. Weld's lectures so far up town was, that no other was procurable, every one being engaged.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE XXXVIIth Congress expired at noon on Wednesday. At the present writing its latest proceedings are not before us. An immense amount of business has been done in the last week. The great measures for the support of the Administration and the war have all been passed, and it is not probable that there will be any occasion for calling together the XXXVIIIth Congress before the time fixed by law for its meeting, viz.: the first Monday in December next.

In the Senate on Friday, on the bill to incorporate a school for the education of colored children in the District of Columbia, Mr. Carlile (Dem. Va.) spoke in opposition to educating any one who had a dark complexion. He was soundly roasted by Senators Grimes and Morrill, men who believe in letting even the Devil read the Bible. On an indirect motion to kill the bill, nine white men calling themselves free men, and being United States Senators, voted to shut every ray of intelligence from a handful of poor free negro children —most of them probably the offspring of white fathers. On the same day Senator Davis, of Kentucky, made a furious onslaught upon Gen. Butler, accusing him of all manner of enormities while in New Orleans. Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts defended him. On Saturday the Conscription bill, returned from the House with amendments, was passed. On Monday, the bill to promote the efficiency of the Engineer corps being under consideration, a proviso, offered by Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, that no person of African descent shall be commissioned as an officer in the service of the United States, was adopted by a vote of 18 to 17; but this was subsequently modified, so that none but company officers can be commissioned, and these only in companies composed exclusively of persons of African descent. On Monday night, the Indemnification bill (indemnifying the President and other officers for suspending the *habeas corpus*) was taken up and discussed for a long time; the pro-slavery Senators were determined to defeat it by talking against time, and making frivolous motions. Finally, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the report of the Conference Committee was agreed to, and the bill was passed. The filibusters made much ado about it, and on Tuesday, under pretext of correcting the journal, tried to recall the bill. Having wasted an hour or two of valuable time, they submitted to a test vote, to send to the House for the bill; the motion was lost, Yeas 13, Nays 25. On Tuesday the Senate passed the Tariff modifications, the Mediation resolutions of Mr. Sumner, the Nevada Mint bill, the Academy of Sciences bill, the Idaho Territory bill, the bill to admit the State of Nevada, and agreed to the Conference report on the Internal Revenue bill.

In the House, Feb. 25th, the Conscription bill was passed, yeas 115, nays 49. On the 26th, the bill to punish frauds on the government was passed. On Tuesday the Senate bill reorganizing the Judiciary of the District of Columbia was passed. On Tuesday the House, by a vote of 102 against 27, adopted Mr. Sumner's anti-mediation resolutions.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

We have a report that the rebels have evacuated Vicksburg. Cotemporary with it we have a rebel report that a great battle has been fought there without decisive result. The new gunboat Indianola, which followed the Queen of the West in running the rebel batteries, has been captured by the rebels. A dispatch from Admiral Porter, dated 27th ult., states that she was attacked twenty-five miles below Vicksburg by the W. H. Webb and Queen of the West, and rammed until she surrendered. The Admiral traces the misfortune to non-compliance with his instructions.

An affair occurred on the 25th ult., in the Valley of the Shenandoah, which was, to say the least, unfortunate. A rebel cavalry scout having come within our lines on the Strasburg road and captured a few of our men, pursuit was made by a party of our cavalry, which was pushed, contrary to orders, beyond Woodstock. Here our men were surprised by a charge of rebel cavalry and routed. In a race of some twenty miles, some two hundred of them were killed or captured.

We have advices from Port Royal to the 25th of February, by the arrival at this port of the steamship Arago. Preparations for the movement against the enemy were still in progress. All the iron-clads, excepting two, had arrived. The misunderstanding relative to Gen. Foster's forces had been arranged, and no more difficulty was apprehended. The troops taken into the Department of Gen. Foster were to be under Gen. Hunter's command.

HILTON HEAD, Feb. 19, 1863.—For some weeks preparations for a foray upon an extensive scale, into some of the most thickly populated districts of one of the three States comprised in the Department of the South, have been in progress with the greatest possible secrecy. Few persons within our lines are aware of the project even at this time, when orders to begin the movement are about being given. The plan is to surprise the rebels, not with the phantom, but the reality of servile insurrection, by the sudden appearance in arms, in the region selected, of a body of no less than 5,000 negroes, properly led by whites and supported by regular troops. Communication has been opened and kept up for some time by trustworthy contrabands with the bondmen of the chosen field of operations, and they know when the liberating host will appear, and are ready to rise in thousands and swell it to a wave so mighty that it will sweep both rebellion and slavery out of existence wherever it may roll. The words of Wendell Phillips at Plymouth Church will be realized—the question of fighting rebels with their slaves placed beyond the control of politicians. A great volcano is about bursting, whose lava will burn and flow and destroy despite "conservatism" and "peace resolutions." The exact direction of the expedition the Northern public is most likely to learn first through Southern prints.—*Tribune.*

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

CONTRABANDS AT CAIRO.—*Cairo, Feb.* 14.—The gunboat Juliet to-day brought to this devoted town a consignment of two hundred and twenty-six colored people—I am tired of hearing them absurdly called "contrabands"—mostly women and children. They were taken chiefly from Judge Griffin's plantation, at Point Chicot, below Island No. 82. The Judge is an active rebel, giving aid and comfort in every way to the rebels, if he is not actually serving in their army. There were also thirteen from Judge Torrent's plantation, three from Seabrook's, at Columbia, Ark., and three from Flournoy's, at Princeton Bend. She also brought up about three hundred bales of cotton, taken from Griffin's plantation. Many of these women appeared neatly dressed, and others were warmly clad in the coarse plantation cottons in common use. I observed many small children without shoes, and also many of the women. Nearly every one carried in her arms, wrapped in tattered shawls and fragments of bed quilts, little babies of all ages, from days to months old. The husbands of these poor, desolate creatures had nearly all been driven away to Arkansas Post and other places, to work upon the rebel forts, and to have them out of reach of the Union advance.

It is a painful subject to dwell upon, but I feel strongly moved to call the attention of the War Department to the condition of these freed people in Cairo.

There are now 1,700 of them gathered here, quartered in what is called the "Corral," and one of the barracks built for them by the Quartermaster. Their accommodations are so limited, however, that disease of every kind is fast thinning their ranks. They are so crowded that cleanliness is as much out of the question as it would be in a barn yard or pig-sty. Their quarters are in the midst of mud, always from *one to two feet in depth* during moist weather. Those who go out are always obliged to have wet feet. Pneumonia is a very common complaint among them, and last week over sixty died from this and other complaints. This is about the weekly average of deaths. Humanity, decency, civilization demand that these persons be removed from Cairo to some place where they can be employed and made self-supporting. Strong women, who have been accustomed to hoe, plow and split rails, and do all manner of hard farm labor, are obliged to sit down in these confined and filthy quarters, and grow sick and *die by the score for the want of exercise for body and mind.*

This heathenish State of Illinois, with her millions of acres of uncultivated prairie land, has not the sense to offer these poor exiles a home where they may innocently live, labor and enrich the State. The shadow of a black man, woman or child throws her citizens into convulsions, just as the sight of cold water sets a rabid dog to foaming at the mouth. Let her perish in her folly; but let some *civilized* and *Christian* State, in Heaven's name, invite them to a home within its borders, where disease, neglect and scorn will not be permitted to waste their numbers, and out of the reach of the miserable slave-driving crew with which they are surrounded. In this work the War Department should immediately cooperate. So shall the blessing of them that are ready to perish come upon them.

The good man, Rev. Mr. Rodgers, who has them in charge, is doing all he can for their welfare, and the Quartermaster, Capt. A. C. Woolfolk, is using his best exertions to improve their condition; but both these worthy gentlemen are laboring under very great disadvantages, and see the necessity of having them removed to some more healthy location. I speak from personal observation.—*N. Y. Times.*

ANTI-NEGRO EPIDEMIC.—At Baton Rouge things are quiet, but hardly satisfactory. I am informed that two epidemics, indigenous to this department, have appeared there—that they are, indeed, horribly prevalent. I allude, in the first place, to the plague of speculators, akin to that of Egyptian locusts; secondly, to the disease negrophobia—a moral blindness through which our nationality may yet grope its way to the pit of destruction. In a former letter I have surmised that perhaps the only effectual cure for the first evil would lie in a big crevasse, deservedly drowning the whole of us. With respect to the second, I have hitherto preserved a reticence, which I shall now break.

Three weeks ago there was sent up to Baton Rouge the 3d Louisiana Native Guards—a colored regiment, commanded by Col. J. A. Nelson, formerly a Captain in the 31st Mass., and Provost-Marshal of Ship Island. Having previously mustered in two colored regiments, this officer became satisfied of their usefulness and efficiency, and himself accepted command of a third. The men were principally recruited in New Orleans, and did good service in the Bayou Teche fight, ending in the destruction of the rebel gunboat Cotton and the death of Commander Buchanan—particularly in throwing up defensive earthworks, a kind of labor always unwillingly performed by white troops. So satisfactory was their behavior, that it is known to have won the approval of Gen. Weitzel, himself anything but a believer in the military capacity of the race. Well, the men were sent to Baton Rouge—the regiment being full 1,000 strong; ten colored persons—four captains and six non-commissioned officers—forming part of the command. They drilled well, marched well, kept themselves clean, performed all their duties as soldiers—nothing in the world is alleged against them but that they are negroes, and have negro officers, hence the ill-will, the detestation, with which they are regarded.

I am informed that Gen. Grover will not "recognize" the regiment; that he has asserted that in case he shall be officially required to do so, the United States government is welcome to his commission; that the regiment can neither draw clothing, blankets, nor pay in consequence; that the officers of certain white regiments vindicate the purity of their cuticle on every possible occasion by insulting the colored ones; that some (of the former) have resigned; that the Colonel of the 133d New York—an Englishman—has distinguished himself by issuing an address exhorting his men "to continue in the performance of their duty until such time as the regiment is brought into contact with" the negroes "by guard duty, drills or otherwise, when he trusts that his men have that confidence in him to believe that he will not suffer their self-respect or manliness to be lowered by contact with an inferior race," etc.; and, generally, that the Union soldiers, rank and file, are doing their meanest to induce the negroes to regret their old normal state of chattelism and their Southern owners.

"Between the devil and the deep sea" is a nautical conception of a dilemma. Between Jeff. Davis's threats of hanging and the wicked prejudice, hatred, contempt and ill-usage experienced at our hands, the poor Africans are evilly entreated. Gen. Hunter encountered just the same difficulties in organizing colored regiments in South Carolina, and—God bless him for it!—squelched them. I hope Gen. Banks will do the same. Col. Nelson is here to request it. This stone that the builders so persistently and contemptuously reject is yet to become the head of the corner, or we, with it tied about our necks, sink to deserved oblivion. I hold that God's meaning in this war is to free the slave, and woe be to him who fights against it and Him, directly or indirectly!—*Tribune.*

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR MRS. GAGE.

WE have received, since last acknowledgment, the following contributions in response to the appeal of Mrs. Frances D. Gage for clothing for the Freedmen under her care at Paris Island, S. C.

Package from Misses N. Morse and J. M. Darrah, South Charlestown, N. H.

Half barrel of clothing from Mrs. Mary E. Stearns, Medford, Mass.

Dinah Mendenhall, Hamorton, Pa.,	$5 00
Mary E. Stearns, Medford, Mass.,	10 00
Friends in Westerly, R. I.,	18 00
Ruth Dugdale, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa,	1 00

Persons who send packages of clothing should send a careful inventory of the articles; otherwise, they have all to be repacked here, the necessity of guarding against the shipment of goods contraband of war compelling the government officials to refuse all packages, the contents of which are not described.

We are able, with the money furnished us, to buy materials at wholesale prices, and to get those materials made into garments without cost.

Packages (the sender paying express charges) may be directed to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Rooms, 48 Beekman street, New York.

Summary.

MARRIED BY TELEGRAPH.—The other day a lady in Syracuse was married to a soldier in a fort near Washington. The parties were about four hundred miles apart, and the vows were spoken by telegraph. The officiating minister on this occasion was the chaplain of the regiment to which the happy man belonged. He didn't kiss the bride. It took two hours to do the work up complete, and the telegram from the chaplain to the lady, announcing that she and the soldier were man and wife, is the bride's marriage certificate.

THE NEW TERRITORY OF MONTANA.—This territory, Mr. Ashley's bill to provide a temporary government for which passed Congress, has an area of one hundred and seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and seventy square miles. It lies between latitudes 41° to 49°, and longitudes 27° and 33°, having Oregon and Washington on the west, and includes the Salmon River Gold Mines. It now contains about eleven thousand people, chiefly miners. A steamboat is building on the Missouri above Fort Benton to navigate that river above the falls. This will give water navigation to within sixty or seventy miles of the eastern mines.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF DELAY.—I cannot forget that a few months ago Port Hudson was a naked bluff, reaching out into the river, with nothing about it repulsive but its steep banks and grim solitude. A few hundred men could then have taken possession of it, fortified its rear against a land attack, and made it a hospitable landing-place for the soldiers of our armies ascending the river; but the cry of Gen. Butler for reenforcements was never heeded, and now thousands are required to fight and die to do the work, while at the time I speak of, without striking a blow or losing a life, it could have been accomplished by a few hundred men.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

MR. TILTON'S WAR HYMN.—The popularity of Mr. Theodore Tilton's War Hymn, "God Save the Nation," no less than its eminent fitness for choral purposes, is shown by the attentive treatment which it has received from various composers in different parts of the country. We have before us copies of original versions by Wm. F. Muller (published in the New York *Musical Review*), John Zundel (*Musical Record*), F. Fleming (Horace Waters), E. Moore, Henry C. Work (Root & Cady, Chicago), and William H. Fry (manuscrip'). It is a somewhat singular consequence of the clear and forcible rythm of the poem, that the musical accentuation in almost all these different compositions is identical, only two of them varying materially from the model which the verbal phrasing involuntarily demands.—*Tribune.*

SLOW BUT STEADY IMPROVEMENT.—Time was when Wendell Phillips could not speak in public in Boston, but Boston got over that folly. Then Mr. Phillips couldn't talk about freedom in New York, but New York is no longer a place for mobs. For many years Mr. Phillips's life would have been in peril in Washington; last year he delivered a public address there, and last week he appeared on the floor of Congress, and headed a deputation of "abolitionmenters," who waited upon the President at the White House. We should not be surprised to see Mr. Phillips within a few weeks at Charleston, telling the whipped rebels in English chaster than they ever heard before, how it was that they brought so much misery and ruin upon themselves, i. e., if enough of the first families remain to form an audience. At New Orleans he would scarcely be needed, as the principles of the proclamation are universally popular in Butler's redeemed city.—*Eve. Post.*

A SENSIBLE DISPOSITION OF THE CONTRABANDS.—Gen. Doubleday, one of the wisest, as well as one of the most skillful officers in the service, has suggested the following disposition of the contrabands in Northern Virginia. He says that every day fugitives come into camp, and there being no provision for the reception and care of them, they are suffered to wander about the country, and are too frequently picked up and taken beyond the Rappahannock to do work for the enemy. Gen. Doubleday recommends that the most available of the numerous peninsulas along the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay be fortified across their narrow necks, and used as places of refuge for the negroes. They would thus be able to defend themselves, and the fish and oysters in the bay would give them employment and sustenance. As an example of a suitable locality, he indicates Mathias Point. A line of fortifications across its neck would afford protection to thousands of these wanderers in the wilderness at very light expense to the government. One advantage secured would be the establishment of places of refuge, to which all inquiring fugitives could be directed. These points would also form a basis of operations for colonization, if that policy shall ever be induced.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

THE MINNESOTA INDIANS.—Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm, in her lecture on Saturday, demanded of Mr. Lincoln's Administration that it cease to treat the Minnesota Indian assassins as prisoners of war; that it cease to recogn

Miscellaneous Department.

"THY WILL BE DONE."

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

I PRAY, with meek hands on my breast,
"Thy will be done, thy kingdom come."
But shouldst thou call my dear ones home,
Should I still say, "'Tis best;
Thy will be done"?

I cannot tell. I probe my heart
With sharpest instruments of pain,
And listen if the sweet refrain
Still wells up through the smart—
"Thy will be done."

cannot tell. I yield the quest,
Content if only day by day
My God shall give me grace to say,
"Father, thou knowest best;
Thy will be done."

He gives no strength for coming ill
Until its advent. Then he rolls
His love in on his waiting souls,
Sare of their sweet "Thy will,
Thy will be done."

"Give us this day our daily bread";
So prayed the Christ, and so will I.
Father, my daily need supply;
I shall not go unfed.
"Thy will be done."

Thy will be done. Take aught away
Thou seest needful. Give aught—health
Or sickness, penury or wealth—
Only give strength to say,
"Thy will be done."

And should those fiery trials come
I wot of, Thy dear word I'll trust
To help me bear whate'er I must,
And say, all murmurs dumb,
"Thy will be done."

And when with solemn care, some day,
Sweet friends my dying eyes shall close,
Hear my last prayer, and give to those
I love best strength to say,
"Thy will be done."

Fitchburg, Mass. —*Christian Inquirer.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

From The London Anti-Slavery Reporter for February.

A DEPUTATION of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of its friends and supporters, had an interview on the 3d current with his Excellency C. F. Adams, the United States Minister, at his residence in Portland Place, for the purpose of presenting a Minute on the American crisis. Upwards of seventy gentlemen, from different parts of the country, were present, amongst whom were Messrs. S. Gurney, M.P.; G. W. Alexander; John Cropper, Liverpool; S. Bowly, Stroud; George Sturge, Northfleet; Samuel Fox, Tottenham; J. M. Allbright, Charlbury; J. Shewell, Colchester; J. Ransom and J. Sharples, Hitchin; B. Wiffen, Woburn; J. Sturge Gilpin, Nottingham; T. Letchworth, Woburn; H. Marriage, Chelmsford; Stafford Allen; Daniel B. Hanbury; T. Clarke, Bridgewater; J. M. Knight; Fred. Wheeler, Rochester; T. Clegg, Manchester; J. Cooper; W. D. Sims, Ipswich; E. B. Underhill and Rev. F. Trestrail, Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society; Messrs. T. Binns, Tottenham; R. Forster, Tottenham; W. Holmes, Alton; R. Alsop; M. Alsop; E. Beales; Gerard Ralston; T. Chalk, Kingston; Dr. Norton Shaw; S. Unwin; J. C. Ryley, Wigan; W. Matthews, Earlscolne; J. Finlay; J. Thwaites; R. B. Phipps, Tobago; John M. Knight, Northfleet; Job Caudwell; A. G. Atwell, Jun., Hackney; J. A. Burr, London; C. H. Elt; C. Gilbert; George Dornbusch; A. Wright, Pimlico; T. C. Taylor, ex-Vice Consul, Abbeokuta; W. Farmer; J. Holme, Alton; H. Browne; Thomas Fleming; R. M. Giles, West Ham; Thomas Wright; W. M. Barnard; F. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., Secretary of London Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs; Charles Hicks, Stanstead; Thomas Johns, Chelmsford; Henry Parsons, St. Alban's; H. Johnson, Tottenham; J. Passmore Edwards; Edward Miles; J. Elgan, Canterbury; John Giles, Stepney; Rev. Dr. Waddington, Dr. Hewlett, W. Owen, J. Stanim, J. C. Galloway, C. Kirtland (Canterbury), J. Curwen (Plaistow), J. Soule, W. Bemburg, William Anderson, E. Davies, Thomas Jones, Blackheath; Mr. O'Neill, J. S. McGreatley, Surrey Chapel; E. W. Thomas, J. Pillans, Camberwell; Dawson Burns, etc.

Mr. Chumerovzow stated that Mr. Josiah Forster was prevented by indisposition from being present, and announced that letters of sympathy had been received from Mr. E. Baines, M.P., Hon. Geo. Denman, M.P., J. Kershaw, M.P., G. Hadfield, M.P., C. Sturge, Birmingham; S. Fox, Nottingham; J. Cropper, Kendal; T. Harvey, Leeds; H. Cossham, Bristol; G. Thomas, Bristol; T. Brewin, Cirincester; H. King, Rochdale; J. B. Pease, Darlington; J. D. Bassett; J. Doyle, Downham; Hugh Mason, Ashton; S. Marshall, Kendal; J. Clarke, Southampton; R. Peek, Hazlewood; G. Danson, Manchester; Mr. Chamberlain Scott; T. Hughes; J. G. Brocklehurst; Dr. Epps; Revs. F. Aveling, J. H. Hinton, J. V. Mummery, J. S. Workman, etc.

Mr. Samuel Bowley said that he hoped the importance of the subject on which the deputation wished to address a few words to his Excellency would be a sufficient introduction. Many of the gentlemen present were old laborers in the anti-slavery cause, and the names of Gurney, Cropper, Forster, Alexander, Fox and Sturge were well known in the movement. Events which had transpired within the last few days showed pretty clearly that there was no want of sympathy in this country with the cause of abolition. He had just parted with Mr. George Thompson, who had been attending large meetings in various parts of the country, and whose testimony was, that there was no question as to the sympathy of the great masses of the people with the movement in the United States for the entire abolition of slavery. The Minute which was about to be presented to his Excellency might not, perhaps, be considered by him quite so hearty in support of the whole policy of the United States government as could be wished, because many who were present had a strong feeling against all war. But upon the question of Emancipation they were all united and earnest in their desire to give the American government every possible support consistent with Christianly duty (cheers).

Mr. Chamerovzow then read the following minute:

At a Special Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on Monday, the 19th January, 1863, the following Minute was unanimously approved:

MINUTE.

The Committee, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evils inseparable from slavery, and with the conviction that its speedy extinction, wherever it exists, is devoutly to be desired, on the highest grounds of religion and humanity, would express satisfaction at the proclamation issued by the President of the United States on the first of the current month, declaring "thenceforward and forever free" the slaves in certain of the States of the American Union.

In view of the exceptional circumstances under which that proclamation has been issued, and of the importance of the present crisis, the Committee feel themselves called upon formally to record that, deprecating war, as opposed to the spirit and the precepts of the Gospel, they regard with unmitigated sorrow the fratricidal conflict between the two sections of the American Union, and sincerely desire its speedy termination, while they protest against the assumption that approval of the President's act implies, on their part, a sanction of the conflict, or is an encouragement to its continuance.

The Committee hold it to have been demonstrated, without possibility of disproof, that the States in rebellion were the aggressors, and deliberately entered upon war for the avowed sole object of extending and consolidating slavery as an institution, by establishing an independent Confederacy founded upon it. This wanton, wicked act, renders them primarily responsible for the awful sacrifice of human life which has ensued, and for all the misery and suffering it has been the means of inflicting, not only upon the people of the United States, but upon our own countrymen at home, as well as upon considerable numbers of the inhabitants in some parts of the continent of Europe; while, so far from having any claim to the sympathy they seek to secure for their rebellion, it justly merits the severest reprobation of the civilized world.

On the other hand, the Committee do not overlook the fact that the President distinctly avows in his declarations to Congress that the United States government resorted to arms to suppress rebellion and preserve the Union, not to abolish slavery. The proclamation of the 22d September last, and that of the 1st of January current, of which it is the complement, also set forth that the freeing of the slaves in the States and parts of States held to be in rebellion, is a measure of military expediency, and is decreed as such, in virtue of the powers extraordinary which the Constitution confers upon the head of the State, as Commander-in-Chief of the national forces, to be exercised only "during a time of armed rebellion." The Committee, nevertheless, sincerely rejoice in the act itself, as bringing to an immediate termination, in favor of three-fourths of the slave population of the South, the there recognized legal condition of slavery.

The Committee record an expression of unfeigned regret that any States or portions of States in which slavery exists should be exempted from the operation of the President's proclamation; but although the act falls short of the requirements of justice to all the enslaved, and does not prohibit the reintroduction of slavery where it is now decreed to be abolished, it must, in these respects, be tested by the measure of the President's ordinary powers, under the Constitution, which leave him no option of interference with slavery in any of the States, and must also be considered in connection with his proposition for compensated emancipation in the loyal States. The Committee are thus brought to the conclusion that, considering the constitutional obligations which limit the action of the President, he is justly entitled, in his extremely difficult position, to "the encouragement and to the considerate judgment of mankind" which he solemnly invokes.

The Committee protest against the idea which has been put forth, that in decreeing emancipation, the President contemplated inciting a servile insurrection. While the information in their possession does not warrant the apprehension of such an event, the Committee regard the President's exhortation to the freed slaves, "to abstain from all violence, except in necessary self-defence," and to "labor faithfully for reasonable wages when allowed," as conclusive evidence of his desire, not only to effect a great work peaceably, but to establish an equitable system of labor. The gratifying results of the remarkable experiment at Port Royal, where some ten thousand so-called "contrabands" are employed most successfully, under exceeding disadvantages, as well as the satisfactory issue of arrangements made in other instances, between slaves and their masters, on the one condition of wages for labor, confirm the Committee in their belief, that in the large majority of cases, the emancipated slaves will be found to require no inducement to work for their former owners, other than reasonable compensation.

The Committee reiterate their appreciation of the various legislative measures, in reference to the abolition of slavery, adopted by the United States government, and consider that the general policy, in this direction, of the President and his advisers, has been such as entitles them to the cordial thanks of the friends of negro emancipation in all lands.

27 New Broad Street, E. C., London, 19th January, 1863.

The various passages of the above document were loudly cheered as they were read. The Minute was then handed to Mr. Adams, with the request that he would forward it to Mr. President Lincoln.

MR. ADAMS'S REPLY.

His Excellency said: Gentlemen of the Committee—It is extremely interesting to me to have the privilege of meeting the representatives of a Society which has already made its mark on the world, especially so from the fact that you have gone before us in America, and have done all in your power to advance the great cause which we all have at heart.

It gives me much satisfaction to receive from your hands this expression of your sympathy with my country in its season of trial. I concur with you in deploring the existence of this unfortunate war. But I must be permitted to call your attention to the fact, not yet entirely understood in this country, that it was entered into by the President with great reluctance, and not until after his delay to take the necessary precautions against impending violence had placed the very existence of the government at the Capital in the utmost jeopardy. The attempt, by the slaughter of those he was calling to his aid, and by applying the torch to the railway communication with the loyal region of the country, to insulate the President and his ministers at Washington, was in execution of a project far deeper than you have been pleased to impute to the insurgents. It was not so much the establishment of an independent Confederacy as the destruction of the old system of government, and the substitution of a new one in its place, which was in question. Convinced that the legitimate action of the Constitution, administered over the Union in its true spirit, would endanger the continuance of their ill-gotten subjection of human beings to perpetual bondage, they determined first to overthrow the Union, and next to reconstruct a Constitution in a manner permanently to establish their power to protect their so-called rights. This new system they hoped to make the basis of another and a very different Union. The struggle which has followed is, then, as you must see, not simply on their side to gain independence for themselves, but rather to perpetuate their ability to deprive other people of theirs. It actually still involves the whole question of free institutions in America. Either the new principles set up will be established, or it must fail. If the former, what is to become of freedom? If the latter, where will slavery be? Such is a plain statement of the issue as it has been made up on both sides. If this be true, surely such a conflict as has grown out of it, however much it may be honestly deprecated, cannot but be regarded as involving moral consequences of magnitude sufficient to deserve the respect of all right-minded men.

I trust that you will now see the connection which exists between the maintenance of the President's first position and his later measures. The policy of the rebellion is to perpetuate slavery by first dissolving the Union. That of the Union is, on the contrary, to uproot slavery as its only safeguard against all future attack upon the principles of freedom. Hence the absolute necessity for the first appeal of the President in support of the Union, and, secondly, for the proclamation. Had the resistance to the Union been less vigorously conducted, the adoption of such a measure as the last just yet might have been more questionable. It might have been still possible to graduate the treatment of the evil by adopting expedients to soften the severity of its operation with time. As it is, I think few people in Europe now doubt that the course of things is set against the permanence of slavery in America. The sentiment of the civilized world pronounces its doom. If so, greatly as this bloody war is to be lamented, will it not be hereafter reckoned among that class of civil convulsions well known in history, which have brought to the futurity of the human race an ample reward for the sacrifices and suffering of their predecessors?

It gives me much encouragement to meet the survivors and successors of those who carried through in triumph the noble struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, and the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies. But I trust I may be permitted not to forget the violent resistance you had to encounter during a long term of years before you arrived at success. I cannot but reflect how the lives of Clarkson and Wilberforce were spent in the arduous task of surmounting the difficulties which interest and ignorauce, and even honest error, interposed in their path, as they do indeed in that of all great reforms. The same obstacles are now experienced in America, only complicated a thousand-fold with material and political questions of a magnitude that threatens the very foundations of civil society. If, then, the policy which has been adopted there do not at first sight appear precisely to square with that which you at a distance, and from your more simple experience, may imagine the best and most direct, I think the labors and sacrifices of those in the United States, who have for so long a course of years steadily adhered to the main object of rescuing their country from the great peril in which slavery has involved it, should be fairly regarded as a pledge to the world that the measures adopted are, on the whole, likely to be those best adapted ultimately to overcome the many obstacles they have been, and still are, compelled to meet.

I shall take great pleasure, gentlemen, in transmitting your Minute to the President of the United States.

Mr. John Cropper said he had very great pleasure, as the son of one who had taken an active part years ago in promoting negro emancipation, and as himself warmly interested in that movement, to be one of so large and influential a deputation. He cordially concurred with the sentiments expressed in the Minute, and warmly sympathized with the remarks which had fallen from his Excellency in reply. He had been delegated by a large Committee in Liverpool to form one of the deputation; and he was thankful to say, that although Liverpool had stood rather prominently forward—he might almost say in secession (a laugh)—it had recently spoken out unmistakably in favor of emancipation.

Mr. S. Bowley said that the religious sentiment of the country was entirely in sympathy with the cause of abolition. He felt it all the more important to notice this observation because the friends of the anti-slavery cause entertained strong feelings on the subject of war, and because all must admit how difficult are the circumstances in which President Lincoln is placed, and how limited is our knowledge of those peculiar circumstances (hear, hear).

Dr. Burns remarked that his Excellency must be aware from reading the truthful portion of the British press (loud cries of "hear, hear")—that the great mass of the people of this country were thoroughly sound on the questions under discussion.

Dr. Waddington said that his Excellency had also doubtless learned that the classes whom he had most frequently to refer to in his communications with the President were not actually the governing classes of this country. With regard to *The Times*, he had only to say that that newspaper in days past had tried to write down Queen Adelaide, Prince Albert (hear, hear)—the Anti-Corn Law League, Emancipation in the West Indies, and did not express the real sentiments of half the people of England. From *The Times* his Excellency would never know that there were any Dissenters in the country (hear, hear). The fact, however, was, that whenever a great question was to be agitated, the leaders of the movement had only to sow their principles broadcast, totally independent of *The Times*, and by means which that journal could not understand. It was so in the Anti-Corn Law agitation, when what were said to be the governing classes were against the movement. Happily there was a heart and a conscience in England, and he was confident that the result of the present agitation would be that this country, and the great nation which had sprung from it, would be more than ever thoroughly and essentially one (cheers).

Rev. J. Sella Martin, as having recently arrived in this country from America, and as fresh from an important emancipation meeting, could testify, looking at the question from an American stand-point, to the cordiality and earnestness of the sentiments he had heard on every hand in favor of the Emancipation policy of President Lincoln (hear, hear).

Mr. Edmond Beales, as a member of the Emancipation Society, expressed his cordial approbation of the sentiments contained in the Minute. It was the duty of every Christian man to state at this important crisis his abhorrence of the principles of those who had openly declared their determination to establish, if possible, a new State in Christendom upon the basis of maintaining and extending slavery (hear, hear.) It was equally the duty of every Christian man to sympathize with the President and the government of the United States in taking measures for the freeing of the world from the pollution of so frightful an abomination, and to give a cordial response to the solemn words of the President, invoking for his Abolition proclamation the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God (hear, hear). He fully believed in the earnest and sincere feelings which prompted those words, and shrank from the opinions and conduct of those who had cast ridicule upon them. Whilst they presumed not to know the counsels of the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of events, they yet ventured to believe in and adore that gracious and marvellous Providence which seemed to be directing even this fearful war to be the means of effecting a great good for a large portion of the human race. If there were any persons left among the countrymen of his Excellency who were disposed either to write or utter unkind words about Englishmen, he would not return railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessings, and pray that God would cause to arise out of the great conflict a more close and Christian union between England and America—a union the dawn of which he hoped was already visible in the generous contributions from America in aid of our distressed fellow-subjects in Lancashire (cheers).

The Rev. C. Kirtland, of Canterbury, said that, as far as he was acquainted with the public feeling in Canterbury and East Kent, there was not the slightest sympathy with the cause of slavery. If there had been any absence of sympathy with the Federal government at the commencement of the struggle, it arose from what was thought to be the wrong position they took in the first instance with regard to abolition. The proclamation had, however, put that matter right, and he believed nine-tenths of the population of this country cordially sympathized with the government in the policy which led to it (hear, hear).

Dr. Tomkins, as the Secretary of a Committee recently appointed in London, said that he was daily in receipt of large numbers of letters from ministers of different denominations throughout the country, who were striving to enlighten the public as to the true merits of the American question, and he had no doubt the community would be found to be in favor of the cause of freedom.

The Rev. W. M. Bunting briefly expressed the pleasure it afforded him to be present on that occasion, and referred in warm terms to the aid which the people of the North were sending to the distressed operatives in Lancashire (loud cheers).

Mr. Phipps, of Tobago, contrasted the favorable state of the Federal foreign trade with that of the Confederates, and argued from that circumstance that the former were more likely to stand their ground in the present conflict than the latter.

The deputation then thanked his Excellency for his courteous reception, and withdrew.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

DOING WITHOUT IT.

I've found some wisdom in my quest
That's richly worth retailing:
I've learned that, where one does his best,
There is no harm in failing.

I thought to gather wealth untold,
And made my boast about it;
My wit and toil bring little gold,
But I can do without it.

I said, "The world shall hear my name,
And down the ages shout it!"
I shall not win the bauble, fame,
But I can do without it.

Another thing I've had to prove,
Though much I used to doubt it;
One can't be sure of human love,
But one *can* do without it.

I saw the world with Wrong o'ergrown,
And set myself to rout it;
Some age will see it overthrown,
So I can die without it.

I thought to know Philosophy,
And tell the world about it;
My plummet will not sound the sea;
My ship can sail without it. C. G. A.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REVIVAL.

From The London Dial, Feb. 7.

THERE can be no doubt that public opinion on the American question is undergoing a rapid transformation. The Exeter Hall demonstration was not a mere ephemeral meeting to be talked about one day and forgotten the next. Unless we greatly mistake the signs of the times, it will, in its results, exercise on the present generation of Englishmen a deep and abiding influence. It must have been obvious to every intelligent observer that during the last few months the character of England has been at stake. There was reason to fear that public opinion would become demoralized by pro-slavery sophisms and misrepresentations; or that, at any rate, the real sentiments of the nation would be stifled for the want of an opportunity to give them audible expression. The danger has happily vanished, and the British nation again stands proudly before the world as the foe of the oppressor, whether he assume the form of a Russian autocrat or a Southern slaveholder. London has given the signal for the provinces to speak out, and they have nobly responded to the call. This is no manufactured agitation. All that the Emancipation Society has done has been simply to appeal to the friends of human liberty to act for themselves. The meetings which have been held in so many great cities and towns are of purely local origin—they are the result of voluntary, unaided efforts of citizens who are more familiar with the workshop and the counting-house than with the public platform, and who have only emerged from private life under a deep sense of the duty they owe to their country and to mankind.

The Times taunted the Emancipationists with the absence from their meetings and deputations of the old anti-slavery celebrities. Where, it asked, were the living representatives of these men of world-wide fame? It was convenient for *The Times* to forget that the son may not walk in the footsteps of the father—that great qualities are not necessarily transmitted with great names—and that the absence of certain men from a movement may only prove that they are unworthy of their sires. But on Tuesday last a deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society waited upon Mr. Adams, the American Minister, to present him with an address of sympathy and congratulation. Those who take the trouble to look over the list will perceive that many of the well-known names reappear. The Gurneys, the Sturges, and the Croppers occur as frequently in the history of West India Emancipation as any which are identified with that great movement. No one will dispute their claim to be regarded as representatives of the party which thirty years ago carried the cause of the negro to a triumphant issue. *The Times*, which put the question alluded to above, declines to give the answer furnished by the presence of these gentlemen at the interview with the American Minister. The proceedings of this important deputation were dismissed in a paragraph, and the name of only one of the seventy gentlemen who attended from various parts of the country was allowed to be communicated to that portion of the public who read the misleading journal. This is a specimen of the unfairness which has passed into a proverb. It is, however, a trifle which would not be worth mentioning if it did not aptly illustrate the tactics of the enemy.

After all, the Liverpool of to-day is not the same Liverpool which threatened to throw Mr. Wilberforce into the Mersey. It is unquestionably still the centre of a large amount of pro-slavery sentiment; but, as we have recently seen, many of the best known and most influential Liberal politicians of the borough sympathize strongly with the cause of freedom in America. Their efforts to arouse their fellow-townsmen will be greatly aided by the publication of the intercepted Southern correspondence, which makes known the appointment of Mr. James Spence, the foremost champion of the South in the press, as the financial agent of the Confederate government. True, Mr. Spence insists that he is only doing business with them in the capacity of a broker. But his advocacy can hardly have the same weight as it did when he indignantly repudiated Mr. Patterson's phrase that the Confederates were his "clients." The financial agent of Jefferson Davis is scarcely the man to lecture the British nation on its duty in regard to the American contest. Without impugning the sincerity of his convictions, it is not too much to say that his opinions will now cease to affect the current of English thought. But *The Times*, while publishing a portion of the intercepted correspondence, is careful to withhold that part of it which makes apparent the relation now occupied by its well-known correspondent "S." towards the Confederate government. Honest journal! Ever true to its mission, it stands without a rival in baseness.

It is pleasant to turn from such a subject to the great meeting held at Rochdale during the past week. The object of that meeting was to pass a resolution of thanks to the Americans for the liberal supplies of food they have sent to relieve the distressed operatives of Lancashire. We hope that many such demonstrations will be held in the manufacturing districts, and many speeches delivered like that of Mr. Bright. What is wanted is not merely thanks, but sympathy. Our American brethren have been grievously disappointed at the coldness with which their cause has been regarded in this country. Knowing as they did that they were fighting to preserve the territory of freedom against the irruptions of barbarians more lawless than the Goths or Turcomans of old, they felt keenly the lack of sympathy which was at one time too manifest in Great Britain. But all this has changed. The light of truth has dissipated the mists which obscured the popular vision. Words of good will and friendship are going out to America by every mail. The cause of the North is now esteemed the cause of a power which will confer liberty on the black man as well as the white, who responded to the call of that address, and spread civilization from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

BUCKLE AS A THINKER.—The recent lessons of that great schoolboy, the world, or those over which the said youth now is poring or idling or blubbering, Mr. Buckle has not only got by heart, not only recites them capitally, but believes with assurance that they are the sole lessons worth learning in any time; and all the inevitable partialities of the text-book, all the errors and *adcaptandum* statements with which its truth is associated, he takes with such implicit faith, and believes in so confidently as part and parcel of our superiority to all other times, that the effect upon most of us cannot be otherwise than delectable. Unhappily, the text-book in which he studied these fine lessons chanced to be the French edition, and above all, the particular compilation of Auguste Comte—Comte, the one-eyed Polyphemus of modern literature, enormous in stature and strength, but a devourer of the finer races in thought, feeding his maw upon the beautiful offspring of the highest intelligence, whom the Olympians love. Therefore it befell that our eager and credulous scholar unlearned quite as much as he learned, acquiring the wisdoms of our time in the crudest and most liberal commixture with its unwisdoms. And thus, though his house is laboriously put together, yet it is built upon the sand; and though his bark has much good timber, and is well modelled for speed, yet its keel is wholly rotten, so that whosoever puts to sea therein will sail far more swiftly to bottom than to port.—*D. A. Wasson.*

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

At last! Say, noble worker for the Right,
When those glad words came flashing o'er the land,
Didst thou not pause ere thou could'st understand
Their fullest meaning, blinded by the light
That shone so clearly after years of night?
As when Columbus, peering through the dark,
Knew in his heart the haven of his bark,
Yet stood at dawn bewildered at the sight!
As he who seeks untiring, year by year,
To melt the clouds that hold a secret fast,
Works on through scorn and mockery without fear,
Boding bright future from the dreary past,
Yet stands dismayed and dumb when all is clear,
Too weak, too glad, to know 'tis done at last!
—*Commonwealth.* W.

NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

From The London Morning Star, Feb. 4.

LAST evening a demonstration of the inhabitants of South London was held in the large room of Taylor's Repository, near the Elephant and Castle, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the cause of negro emancipation in the United States. The meeting was advertised to commence at eight o'clock, but as early as seven o'clock a large crowd had collected around the entrance to the Repository, and by half-past the room was densely crowded, hundreds of persons being unable to obtain admission.

A second and much larger meeting was improvised outside, and the proceedings throughout of both were marked by the greatest enthusiasm and the most perfect unanimity.

At the meeting held in the large room of the Repository Mr. W. J. HAYNES presided, and on the platform we observed the Rev. W. Barker, Mr. Northouse, Mr. G. Thompson, who attended as a deputation from the Emancipation Society; Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. W. Malthouse, Mr. J. Gilpin, of Nottingham; Mr. H. Edwards, Mr. Cook, of Leicester; Mr. A. Baineveld, Mr. R. Wray, Rev. Mr. Hawkins, Mr. J. Walker, Mr. W. Dunn, etc., etc.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said he had received a letter from Mr. Layard, one of the members of the borough, who as an officer of the government, could not be expected to be present. He had likewise received a letter from Mr. George Newman, the Chairman of Mr. Layard's Committee, regretting that an unavoidable engagement prevented him from attending, and expressing hearty sympathy with the object of the meeting (hear, hear). On Friday evening he had an interview with the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon, who also expressed himself heartily in favor of the object the meeting had met to promote (cheers). He (Rev. Mr. Spurgeon) had an engagement for that evening, but he told him (the Chairman) that if he could possibly get away he would come to the meeting, so that they might expect him by-and-by (cheers). He (the Chairman) felt very happy at seeing that the inhabitants of South London had assembled in such large numbers on the present occasion, and he was proud to notice the very great respectability of the gathering. But he dared say that *The Times* (hisses)—*The Daily Telegraph* (renewed hisses)—and some other publications, would tell the public that it was the scum of the borough that had met together, and that, having passed resolutions, went home (hisses). They must all deplore the unfortunate circumstances which were taking place on the other side of the Atlantic, and hope the time would soon come when strife and bloodshed would cease, and unity and peace take their place over that vast continent (cheers). But while the contest was raging they might fairly be expected to express their sentiments in regard to it, to say which way their sympathies went, and to exclaim in the face of the world, "May God defend the right!" (Cheers.) Great efforts had been made for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the people of this country in the cause of the South, and they were told that slavery had nothing to do with the present crisis in America. If that were so, he wondered what the people were fighting about ("Hear," and a voice, "Liberty"). But Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and other gentlemen who had come to this country for the purpose of enlisting their sympathies on the part of the South, had over and over again stated that the question of slavery was at the bottom of the present great strife, and Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederation, stated not long ago, in addressing a large meeting in the South, that slavery would there become the chief corner-stone of the edifice (hear, hear). *The Times* told them the other day in trying to apologize for slavery, that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible (oh, oh)—that while these various texts of Scripture might be construed to favor slavery, there was not a single text in the Bible which disapproved of it. The people of this country did not believe that. They believed that the Bible was for liberty, progress and civilization (loud cheers). In conclusion, he expressed a hope that soon the deadly strife which was raging on the other side of the Atlantic would cease, and that out of it would arise the emancipation of the slaves (cheers)—that America, no longer torn asunder by political strife of intestine quarrels, would become great, glorious and free, and that the Stars and Stripes of America and the Union Jack of England would float proudly side by side in the breeze, the pioneers of liberty, progress and civilization all over the world (loud cheers).

The Rev. William Barker moved—"That this meeting heartily unites in the general joy and thanksgiving which has been called forth by the proclamation issued by the President of the United States on the 1st of January, 1863, by which more than three million of slaves in the United States were declared thenceforward and forever free; and are of opinion that the promulgation of that decree—founded not less on justice and the inalienable rights of slaves than on considerations of military necessity—entitles Mr. Lincoln, to the sympathy, encouragement and moral support of the friends of freedom throughout the world." Mr. Barker, in supporting his resolution, began by remarking that he did not object to the fair discussion of this question, but there was one thing to which he did demur, and that was that such men as Cheever in America and Hall and Noel in this country should be set down by *The Times* as persons altogether insignificant, and whose opinions were as insignificant as themselves (cheers). He should like to know who the notable unknowns were (laughter). Mr. Barker then noticed the statement of *The Times* that there were texts in the Bible which might be quoted in favor of slavery, and said that he believed the universal opinion of Englishmen was that the Bible was utterly opposed to slavery. *The Times* said: "There was not one single text that could be perverted to prove slavery unlawful" (a laugh)—but he said, on the contrary, that there was not a single text in that whole book that could be perverted to support slavery (cheers). Mr. Barker next referred to the policy of Mr. Lincoln, and read extracts from the declaration issued by the Republican party when Mr. Lincoln became a candidate for the Presidency, and from a speech of Mr. Sumner's, to prove the decidedly anti-slavery tendency of that policy. He also quoted Dr. Thornwell—reputed to be one of the ablest apologists of slavery in the South—to show that the South regarded the almost universal position of the Northern mind as one of hostility to slavery. He (Mr. Barker) thanked God that Mr. Lincoln had acted with so much wisdom and moderation, and that he did no extreme thing to cause bloodshed—not even for the liberty of the slave—until he found that it was expedient, if not absolutely necessary (cheers). The accomplishment of good was generally brought about by a contest with evil, and evil which could not be at once destroyed was by the wisest possible means to be checked and overruled (hear, hear). So if they could not look into Mr. Lincoln's mind and see the transparency and perfection there which they could desire, yet when the time had come when, even on the mere expediency of the politician, he had been led to proclaim liberty to the slave, the result would be such that all Christians would rejoice at it (cheers).

Mr. George Thompson (who was received with repeated rounds of applause) next rose to address the meeting. He said that it was with the greatest satisfaction that he had observed, within the last few days, a general revival of the old anti-slavery feeling of this country (cheers). He never doubted its existence. He knew that the ignorance, prejudice and malevolence were confined to some of the newspapers rather than distributed among the people (cheers). He had been addressing meetings in all parts of the country during the last eighteen or twenty months, and he could never find any opponent who was able to obtain more than a dozen or twenty votes in favor of any amendment which he proposed (applause). He did not need the great demonstration at Exeter Hall to convince him that the judgments, the convictions, the hearts and the consciences of the people were sound upon the question (cheers). This rebellion in America was simply and exclusively a slaveholders' rebellion—a rebellion conceived in the brains of slaveholders—a rebellion projected thirty years ago by slaveholders, who only waited their time till their power should culminate, and a Northern man put the genius and spirit of the government on the side of freedom (cheers). An American came over here to learn for the first time that the tariff was an element in the question (hear). It had no existence in the list of grievances put forth by the slaveholders, and there never was a tariff passed for which a majority of the Southern representatives did not vote and against which a majority of the Northern representatives did not vote (cheers). Proceeding to notice the course pursued by Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Thompson said that he always gave a man credit for good motives, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, and, judging Mr. Lincoln by the exercise of his constitutional authority, he thought he deserved their confidence and approbation (cheers). Entering the government under most disadvantageous circumstances, and with these slaveholders consolidated against him, he had done more since he came into office than had been done in this country in thirty years (hear, hear). It took thirty years to abolish slavery, and then they had to abolish it in spite of princes, peers, prelates clergy and aristocracy (cheers). All the diatribes of the press fell on him (Mr. Thompson) like the rain from heaven on the plumage of a duck (laughter and cheers). He was quite familiar with these rehashes of *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Standard*—he had read all their arguments before in *John Bull*, in *Frazer*, in *Blackwood*, and in *The Quarterly*, who did the work much better in their day (laughter and cheers). He thanked God that these papers did not represent the people of England. *The Times* was so notorious for its vacillation, for waiting in the rear till victory was assured, that the people treated its statements on this question with scorn (cheers). Well-to-do gentlemen, who got up their politics during a five minutes ride in the omnibus, might find it convenient to be set up by the articles of *The Times* (laughter)—but the people neither read it, nor would they trust it if they did read it (cheers). Mr. Thompson then, amid great enthusiasm, proceeded to notice the various great acts performed by Mr. Lincoln, which showed his opposition to slavery. After describing the origin of the Republican party, and the infamous Dred Scott decision which Mr. Lincoln's Attorney-General had pronounced unconstitutional, he said that every slave emancipated by Mr. Lincoln's glorious proclamation was now a citizen, and could claim the protection of the laws of the United States (cheers). When he found the President thus, in despite of obstacles, steadily prosecuting one great purpose—when he found this great emancipation proclamation preceded by acts, any one of which evidenced his sincerity—he took his proclamation not only with thankfulness, but with the deepest gratitude to the good man who had promulgated it (loud cheers). It was no sham. It might be a tragedy; it might be a jubilee; it might lead to one of the most glorious events in the world's history since the Messiah trod the earth—or if Jefferson Davis's threat was carried out, it might lead to that the thought of which chilled the blood. It was no sham, but the Magna Charta of the negroes' rights (enthusiastic cheering). It was written, spoken, declared, and it never could be revoked (cheers). The negro must either be a man rejoicing in the rights of a man, or the victim of those demi-demons who through the lips of Jefferson Davis threatened his extermination. Jefferson Davis threatened with extermination four million of people (sensation). He (Mr. Thompson) thought that that man was a demon, but now he knew it. Who was to exterminate them? The Southerners, rather than give England cotton, burned it; and rather than give the negroes freedom they would slay them. He thanked them for coming out in their true character; but though they might threaten, they could not perform [applause]. There was a vitality in four million of people that would exceed the devilism of Jefferson Davis [cheers]. It was easy for him to tear the babe from his mother—to deflower the undefended maiden—to rob the laborer of his hire: but to stand up before God and the world, and butcher four million of people, he could not do [great applause]. In conclusion, Mr. Thompson stated there never was an instrument that proceeded from purer motives—that was more just in its object—or that would be more salutary in its effects than that proclamation. He concluded a long and eloquent speech in the words of the poet:

"Spirit of freedom, on!
Oh! pause not on thy flight,
Till every clime be won
To worship in thy light.

"On, till thy name is known
Throughout the peopled earth!
On, till thou reign'st alone
Man's heritage by birth!"

[Enthusiastic cheers.]

The Rev. Mr. Hawkins supported the resolution.

The resolution was then put and carried amid the greatest enthusiasm.

A Voice—Three groans for *The Times* [groans].

The Rev. J. H. Rylance, in an able and eloquent speech, proposed the next resolution—"That the Chairman be desired to forward a copy of the foregoing resolution to his Excellency, C. F. Adams, the American Minister, with the request that he would forward it to the President of the United States" [cheers].

Mr. W. S. Northouse, in a humorous speech, seconded the resolution.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. F. W. Chesson, hon. Secretary of the Emancipation Society, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, alluded to the fact stated by that gentleman in his opening speech, that out of the four members for South London only one [Mr. Layard] had condescended to reply to the letters inviting them to attend that meeting [cries of "Shame"]. Speaking as an elector of Lambeth, and with especial reference to the members for that borough [one of whom, and he the last elected, had been prodigal of promises to his constituents], he considered that this was a matter which demanded the serious consideration of the great body of the electors [cheers]. They were probably on the eve of a general election, and before pledging their votes to this man or that they must know exactly where he stood on this great question [applause].

Mr. George Thompson seconded the resolution, but before it was put a gentleman in the body of the room stated that he had seen Mr. Williams, and that gentleman had promised to attend the next Emancipation Meeting held in Lambeth [cheers].

The motion was then carried by acclamation, and the meeting, which had throughout been of the most enthusiastic character, terminated with three cheers for President Lincoln.

THE OPEN AIR MEETING.

Long before eight o'clock, the time appointed for commencing the business of the meeting in the large room, it became densely crowded, at least 1,500 persons being present; but the crowd unable to obtain admittance was still larger in numbers, completely filling the open space in front of the Depository, and extending across the road nearly up to the Elephant and Castle. It was, therefore, determined by the Committee to hold an open-air meeting, and an extempore platform having been raised in front of the building, Mr. Farrell, a vestryman of St. George's, was called to the chair. He addressed the meeting at some length in support of the policy of the American President, which he believed would ultimately, in spite of the assertions of *The Times* and other Southern sympathizers, prove triumphant. It had already resulted in the emancipation of three million of slaves. The Rev. Mr. Barker then moved the same resolutions which he had before proposed in the large room, enforcing it by similar arguments. Mr. Connolly, an operative mason, seconded the resolution. He knew the sympathies of the immense majority of his fellow working men were with the North. They abhorred slavery in every form, more especially that detestable system for which alone the South were contending. The resolution was supported by Lieut.